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# *Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report - April 2011*

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2011  
Program of the  
Seventy-Fifth Annual Meeting of the  
UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY  
Saturday, 16 April 2011

Keynote Address by Harold Holzer  
*Chairman, The Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation*  
*Senior Vice President for External Affairs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

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THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

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74th ANNUAL MEETING

ADDRESS BY DR. JOHN M. MCCARDELL, JR.

24 April 2010

I begin this talk today with a disclaimer—or perhaps several. The first is that this is very much a work in progress. And, related, this is the first time I have spoken on this topic. That is why I welcome the invitation to be with you today, while begging your indulgence for my early findings and, in spots, circumstantial evidence.

This is actually a talk that weaves together several stories. The first is my own. Back in the mid-1990s, I found myself in the South Caroliniana Library, at long last having been granted access to a collection that for a very long time had been off limits. I have told the curious story of W.P. Trent's 1892 biography of William Gilmore Simms elsewhere. It is enough to say that its findings were so controversial and, to some members of the Simms family, offensive, that all the Simms papers in the large and rich Charles Carroll Simms Collection were given to the South Caroliniana Library with the stipulation that they be made available only to an "official" biographer and such others as may demonstrate a need, and a scholarly purpose, for access. Not until 1992, with the publication of John C. Guilds's *Simms: A Literary Life*, was the prohibition lifted.

I had what I thought was a very simple and straightforward project, which could easily be completed during the four months of leave I had at my disposal. My plan was to bring out a new edition of a "novelette" (as Simms called it), with annotations and a scholarly introduction, bringing to modern readers a work generally deemed by critics to be one of the author's best.

Having studied Simms intermittently over the preceding twenty years, over and over again I had had to wrestle, as all Simms scholars must, with the issue of his literary reputation, his "standing" if you will. For too many people (but not enough, given the subject), for far too long, this has been a

kind of academic parlor game. As good as Cooper? Better than Irving? Not as good as Bryant? Distinctly inferior to Hawthorne and Melville? The Old South's leading man of letters? Wrote too much too quickly? Limited by the constraints of Southern society and institutions? Welcomed and respected in Charleston?

Perhaps the most...imaginative?...of these exercises occurs in the final chapter of the most recent, official, biography of Simms, in which Simms's ghost appears before the author and asks, "Why have I been forgotten?" This particular treatment, and this particular approach, may explain why.

I sought no interview with ghosts. But I did seek to place before the public one of Simms's works for which critics, then and now, have had a uniformly high regard. The work in question is "Castle Dismal," first published in installments in *Magnolia* in 1842 and then published as a small book—a six-chapter "novelette"—in 1844. Edgar Allan Poe deemed it among the best ghost stories he had ever read. A contemporary critic, Evert A. Duyckinck, a close friend of Simms, thought it one of his best works. Trent praised "the descriptions of the old homestead from which it took its name." The Guilds biography pronounces the story "excellent" and continues, "in establishing atmosphere, tone, and mood, it is superb...." The work was also one of Simms's favorites. As we shall see, he sought at various times to reissue it.

And yet, for some reason, it has never been republished. How curious. Repeatedly cited as an excellent example of Simms's skills as a story-teller, almost always offered by name to support Simms's claims to a higher literary status than he has generally occupied—yet never republished, even though many of his stories, most of them inferior to "Castle Dismal," have been reissued, sometimes multiple times.

So, I thought, I shall fill this longstanding vacancy and bring to readers, for the first time since 1844, a work consistently judged to be among the author's best.

Had the task proved to be so simple, said volume would long since have appeared, and the deficiency remedied. But alas, there is still no book. For this, scholarly procrastination is far less to blame than the holdings of the South Caroliniana Library. For as I began research on this seemingly simple project, I made an exciting—a startling—discovery, which not only explained to me why “Castle Dismal” has never been republished but also revealed incredibly insightful and intimate glimpses into the author’s inner and personal life.

Among the materials in the Charles Carroll Simms Collection is a file labelled “Drama.” That might be enough to scare off any researcher. Simms was at best a third-rate dramatist. Who cares how many versions of terrible plays he composed? But I felt duty-bound to explore even this apparent literary dry well.

And thus the discovery. In that file is a manuscript fragment, evidently misplaced. The fragment is an unfinished draft of a short story by Simms, in his own hand, that was never published. The title of this story is “Rawlins’ Rookery.” Now “Rawlins’ Rookery” offers little to support the case of those devoted to the cause of enhancing Simms’s literary reputation. Still, it is a remarkable document. It tells a story about the writing and publication of “Castle Dismal.” This portion of the story may well have been intended by Simms to serve as what he elsewhere referred to a “humorous” introduction to a new edition of “Castle Dismal.” Internal evidence in the manuscript further suggests that this portion was composed sometime between 1842 and 1845.

But “Rawlins’ Rookery” tells another story as well. Its latter portion includes a long interview with a close friend of the author of “Castle Dismal.” The interview takes place between the writer of the story, “Rawlins’ Rookery,” (Simms), and a confidante of the author of “Castle Dismal,” (also Simms), who in “Rawlins” goes by the pseudonym of “G. B. Singleton.” Thus, in an extraordinarily revealing dialogue, Simms creates

a situation in which he is asking his interviewee about—himself! —and about himself *in absentia*, for “Singleton” has mysteriously and suddenly disappeared and left no trace. (Singleton, by the way, was a pseudonym frequently used by Simms. It was as well his mother’s maiden name, his first daughter’s middle name, and the name of the hero in one of his earliest historical romances, *The Partisan*.) Over the course of an increasingly intimate exchange, Simms, author of “Rawlins,” poses questions about “Singleton,” the author of “Castle Dismal.” The revelations are disturbing and profound and necessarily prompt a major reconsideration of much of what has been written about Simms. The result is an autobiographical statement of considerable import.

It is far less clear from internal evidence when this latter portion of the manuscript was written, but it is quite clear that Simms devoted some time to the entire manuscript as late as 1857 and probably intended to publish it that year. So, we have 1842–45 and again 1857, and maybe also in between. As Simms’s life story, real and invented, unfolds, the relationship of personal hardship, personal failing, even personal tragedy, becomes more than coincidental. For this reason, though establishing with certainty when the manuscript was written or revised, as it was several times, is impossible, frustration is mitigated by the compelling reality that, at least at two particularly stressful moments in his life, Simms sought an outlet in “Rawlins’ Rookery.”

Time limitations permit only a tantalizingly brief look at just what this means. “Castle Dismal” appeared in monthly installments in *Magnolia*, beginning in January 1842. No chapter appeared in May. The editors explained the hiatus as simply a decision “to defer the publication of the Sixth Chapter...in order to conclude that of ‘Turgesius.’” Has anyone ever heard of Turgesius? He was a Viking chief who plundered Ireland in 832 A.D. Doubtless readers were on their edge of their seats to learn how this came out.

The story resumed in June, but with it came distressing news:

An unexpected and grievous domestic calamity in the family of Mr. Simms—the loss of his youngest daughter—deprives us, to a certain extent, of his assistance in the present number, and will no doubt abridge considerably the amount of his labours for that ensuing. This event impairs several of the literary and other arrangements of our work, but we trust that the interruption...will be only temporary.

Indeed, Simms was shattered by the sudden loss. “In the moment of my greatest seeming security, when everything was calm around me,” he lamented to his friend James Henry Hammond, “the bolt fell at my fireside.” Mary Derrille Simms, 2 ½ years old, succumbed to scarlet fever in late April 1842. “Of four [children] I have but one left,” he continued, adding, significantly, “of the 3 children of my present wife not one....I am almost wholly baffled and broken up.”

Simms had married, first, Anna Malcolm Giles, of Charleston, in 1826, and she had borne him a daughter, Anna Augusta Singleton. But Anna died, and, in 1836, Simms married Chevillet Roach, age 18. Chevillet was the daughter of Nash Roach, a planter with two plantations in Barnwell District. By this marriage Simms, age 30, had become a member of the planter class. For the rest of his life Woodlands, one of the two Roach plantations, would be his beloved home.

But now all three children by Chevillet had died. Simms, clearly, was devastated.

The mention in *Magnolia* of “literary and other arrangements” referred to Simms’s agreement, in March 1842, to take over as editor of that publication and move its offices from Savannah to Charleston. The fifth instalment of “Castle Dismal” appeared in the June 1842 issue. The sixth and final chapter never was published. Meanwhile, in July 1842, Chevillet had again become pregnant. Simms, particularly attentive to

her condition, moved with her to spend the summer in Flat Rock, North Carolina.

It was not a happy tenure for Simms at *Magnolia*. Indeed, he had largely predicted its fate in an essay on Southern literature in 1840, which noted that subscribers would not pay, that editors in turn would not pay contributors, and that as a result the periodical would fold. Simms had made a vigorous effort to secure contributions from the South's leading writers, and he put new guidelines in place so as to discourage the second-rate and win the allegiance of subscribers. He also produced a great deal of the material himself.

But the subscription list did not grow. Subscribers did not pay their bills. And the publishers, Pendleton and Burges, began to squabble. Perhaps the intensity of their bickering explains Simms's extensive travels in 1842, first with his expectant wife to North Carolina, then to Alabama for two weeks in mid-December.

In March 1843 Chevillet gave birth to the Simmses' first son, who was promptly named William Gilmore Simms, Jr. The father's happiness was almost palpable, and the mother's health seemed more robust than ever. With the arrival of the new child, and as *Magnolia's* fortunes continued to decline, Simms decided to step down as editor in June 1843. As he planned his first visit to New York in three years, Simms must have felt as though he had a new lease on life. "It is so long since I have been in your city," he wrote his friend James Lawson, "that I feel very much like an eager boy."

At the same time, his eagerness looked to a larger purpose. "Between us," he continued, "the hope is strong within me that I shall one day make my home—my summer home at least, in her precincts or her bosom." Thus, at the very moment he had liberated himself from his editorial burdens and once again had the presence of a healthy young child in his life, Simms's deepest urge was not to remain in South Carolina but to



remove to the north, where a wholly new life appeared to be awaiting him.

Simms sailed from Charleston to New York on July 31. From there, after about a month's visit, he went on to Boston to renew acquaintances with Sarah J. Hale and Caroline Gilman. He returned to Charleston in mid-September and soon after forwarded to Lawson the completed manuscript of "William Potter, or a Christmas at Castle Dismal—a Ghost Story," which he asked Lawson to deliver to the Harpers for publication. Thus, it is clear that by the end of September 1843 Simms had finished the hitherto unfinished tale and had also made revisions to the *Magnolia* version.

The Harpers declined to publish, and there was likewise little interest among other of Simms's and Lawson's contacts. Finally, in February 1844, increasingly concerned to get the story "off my hands without positively giving [it] away," Simms asked Lawson to deliver the story to Burgess and Stringer, who published the tale in the autumn of 1844.

The final arrangements were probably concluded during Simms's trip to New York in the late summer of 1844. This especially long visit turned out to be far less important for the final proofing of "Castle Dismal" than for the fact that Chevillette and the Simmses' year-old son accompanied him. This would be the last time husband and wife visited New York together.

One may only surmise the discussions that may have taken place among these close friends as they dined at the Lawsons' table and conversed in the Lawsons' parlor. It is reasonable to conjecture, however, that one topic may have been the possibility of the Simmses' removal to New York. In good health, and quite likely enjoying the longest period in her married life up to that time between pregnancies, Chevillette may well have been inclined at least to consider the possibility. Whether reluctantly cajoled by her husband or happily laying aside her concerns over travel to be with him and introduce his namesake to close friends, Chevillette undertook the journey. And it is certainly plausible that Simms himself,

who, in his darker moments often expressed his desire to leave South Carolina, might have seen this trip as, quite literally, the opportunity of a lifetime. The circumstantial evidence, in other words, is certainly strong enough to allow for the possibility that this visit to New York had larger purposes.

The favorable critical responses to “Castle Dismal” were matched by strong sales. By mid-January 1845, Simms reported to Lawson, Charleston booksellers had “been compelled to order fresh supplies several times.” By June 1845, more than 500 copies had been sold in Charleston. The success of the work prompted Simms to propose to Lawson, in November 1845, a second edition. He added, suggestively, “I have an introduction to C.D. which will improve it, I fancy. It is humorous!!” Soon thereafter a second edition did appear, but with no changes and no introduction.

In all likelihood, the unpublished introduction told the story about the writing of the story. Taking as its plot the search for the missing final installment of “Castle Dismal” as originally printed in the *Magnolia*, this introduction is indeed humorous. The narrator is Simms himself, who describes the challenges of editing a literary periodical. An exchange between editor and publisher ensues:

But anon, there was a clamor. The publishers showed evident alarm.

“What’s the matter now?”

“Why, here are letters—”

“Well?”

“More than twenty, demanding the rest of ‘Castle Dismal.’”

“The rest of ‘Castle Dismal!’ What castle is that? Where does it lie...?”

“Oh! It is not a *place*, but an *article*—a series of articles— chapters of a tale, that we have been publishing for some time past, and which

remains unfinished. The subscribers are clamouring everywhere for the conclusion. There were five chapter parts published...but there it stopped. The author has sent us nothing for three months."

"Indeed! Who is the author, and why has he stop?"

"He signs himself 'Gualtier B. Singleton' and hails from a place called 'Idalia'...."

"I know the place. Well! Have you written to him?"

"Yes, but with the exception of a brief note, which is almost incomprehensible, we have got no answer...."

"Let me see the note."

It was brought. A great sheet of paper, upon which was scrawl'd, in a dashing, bold hand,...the following:

"Hark ye Gentlemen....When you shall satisfy me that your paper is as good as mine, you shall hear from me—not before....In brief, I shall raise no more ghosts, until you can show me that you can raise the wind...."

G.B. Singleton

"This seems to me only a quaint fashion of dunning. Have you failed in your contract with him?"

The worthy publishers hung their heads.

"The truth is, we were rather short when he wrote."

"Ah! And he was as short when he replied—probably he has been starving! Who knows? Well, I see but one process. Send him the money that you owe him!"

"We are prepared to do so now, but here's the further difficulty. We now learn that no person of that name lives in Idalia."

"What is to be done?"

"Nothing that I can see, until you hear from him again."

"But the letters of complaint are pouring in from subscribers."

"So much the more severe their comment upon yourselves. How

much did you contract to pay for these articles?"

"Twenty Five dollars Cash."

"And you owe him for how many?"

"Five."

"Why, that is all he has contributed! You have not paid him a sixpence....And so for this pittance, you have lost the contributions of a writer who has been the greatest attraction of your work! Gentlemen, this is very sad."

"But what are we to do?"

"Do!—you ought to be able to answer that question as promptly as myself. If you hold this man's writings to be necessary to your work, find him out, by all means. Write, send, go yourselves one or both, carry him his money...."

The story unfolds. The publisher treks to Idalia, fails to find "Singleton," and returns dejected. So the impatient editor, Simms, decides to make the quest himself. At this point, the ink changes and the handwriting becomes more legible, more closely resembling the handwriting on the story's title page (which bears the date 1857).

"Singleton," the family name of Simms's grandmother, was a pseudonym frequently employed by Simms. Thus, the story now becomes a tale of the editor, Simms, seeking the contributor "Singleton" (also Simms).

The editor reaches Idalia (which has now become Vidalia) and meets a Doctor Hilton, a "frank, cheery, bluff, good-mannered personage, of free speech and sanguine temper. He explains his mission to the doctor:

"Do you know him?"

"Like a book! But I must tell you that Singleton is his *nom de plume*, not his real name. You might have questioned all Vidalia, for a hundred years, as to Singleton, & never got an answer. The true name is Rawlins—Walter Rawlins—poor fellow!—as fine a fellow, in

his way, as ever lived. We were school boys together, and I have been one of the few friends who have stuck to him through thick & thin....”

The doctor then reveals that Rawlins has mysteriously left town. The editor replies:

“Missing! No clues to him?”

“None whatever!...There are a thousand conjectures, but no clues. His wife and her immediate circle are persuaded that he has committed suicide.”

“But *you*?”

“I think nothing of the kind!...My notion is that, in some pique, he has wandered off for a season and will return as suddenly as he went.”

And then, a startling revelation:

“He had good reason for wandering. His home was hardly a grateful one to a person of his mind and sensibilities.”

“Ah! His wife?”

“Of her hereafter, and of him too I shall tell you all when we get to my homestead.”

Late in the evening, the interview resumes, and the discoveries are astonishing. In a version of the manuscript that differs again from the previous two versions, and thus must have been composed at a different time, the doctor observes, of Rawlins:

“In the case of Rawlins, the disappointment, I suspect, is greater than in the case of ordinary men. With all of us, Love is a thing of comparative delusions and disappointments....With him love was a necessity. The need of sympathy was very urgent....In the search after these objects, we are always the victims of caprice. The boy who fancies perfection and devotion in the damsel of seventeen [Chevillette and Simms wed when she was 18, he 30], whom he fancies an angel, may find her a jilt, or a flirt, or a coldblooded selfish

creature who seeks protector or supporter merely, or, at all events, only the gratification of lust or vanity....He who seeks fame, having his ambition, whether of literature, art, science or politics, is at the mercy of every popular caprice; and he, too, at thirty bemoans the loss of his ideals of seventeen or twenty....

“Now Rawlins, building equally upon love and fame, has had his disappointment, his defeat, in both....Literature is now his refuge. His heart has received a surer blow than his head. With him, love was a necessity. His need of sympathy was very urgent....He was a dependent, and upon woman—woman who, in her pure state, is the grand necessity of man. She alone can yield the proper sympathy....If truly loving, she can appreciate any intellect, however subtle, however exalted, and minister to any sensibility, however exquisite and tender. **In this craving he has been disappointed. He chose too soon—chose in the blindness of his need—chose from faith rather than knowledge—chose under his impulse, and not with his soul, and chose through the direction of his boyish passions, at a period of life when choice was scarce possible to the boy. His generous sympathies made him an easy victim to a cold, coarse nature, which possessed the serpent’s wisdom only. His easy faith, blind confidence, warm passions, made him succumb to the trained cunning of a mere woman—the merest woman, in the lowest sense,—in the world....Himself genuine, he gave an easy faith, through his affections, to the arts of a cunning girl. He mistook calculation for sympathy, and clothing the object with beautiful investiture...he married....**

“We see such mistakes made daily....Marriage undeceives both parties. You find each other out....

“I fought against his passion as a friend, but in vain....Some time after she fell heir to certain lands, here, which she now occupies, and

hither they removed; he abandoning his profession—at which he had done but little—and becoming a planter on a small scale.”

The doctor goes on to describe Rawlins’s “cheerless domestic condition.”

And then continues:

“He has the soul for a thousand—may find a thousand—but needs something more than friends—needs the devoted attachment of at least one truly loving soul, tender like his own—and all men of genius, let me tell you, have a certain feminine nature, which finds in love its true & only sufficing aliment.”

And here the story ends, incomplete, inconclusive, yet profoundly revelatory and a work of unique narrative genius: a story about the writing of a story, written by an author about an author learning, through an interview about—himself! Perhaps it is now clear why “Castle Dismal” has never yet been republished. Scholars with access to the Simms collection could not have brought out a new edition and overlooked “Rawlins.” Yet to include “Rawlins” would be to turn much of what has been commonly said about Simms’s domestic bliss on its head.

Two more bits of circumstantial evidence before we conclude. First, it is clear that, though a new edition with a humorous introduction did not appear in the 1840s, Simms returned to “Rawlins” in 1857, even composing a title page noting Redfield as the publisher. Once more, fate intervened. New “Redfield” editions of Simms’s works had begun to appear in the mid-1850s, but, with the Depression of 1857, publication ceased. “Rawlins” would never appear.

At almost the same time, Simms’s father-in-law, Nash Roach, who had moved in with his daughter and son-in-law in 1846, just after the contemplated move to New York and the new edition of “Castle Dismal,” became fatally ill. He died in February 1858. Simms also loses two more children to death in that same year. In October 1858, the will of Nash Roach is executed. The will leaves “all the rest and residue of my real and

personal Estate...unto my beloved daughter Chevillette Eliza Simms...for her sole separate use and benefit not to be subject in any manner to the debts, contracts, or engagements of her present or any future Husband...so that she may receive the rents, income, and profits thereof as if she were *femme sole*.” Should Simms survive her, which he does, he inherits the property, but does not control its further dispersal. The Roach will stipulates that, under those circumstances, the rest and residue is to go to “their eldest son then living.”

So there it is. It is certainly possible (though difficult, since no edition has been published for almost 170 years) to read “Castle Dismal” apart from the story of Simms’s life and apart from “Rawlins’ Rookery.” But taken together, and overlaid, these several stories offer a new look inside the mind and spirit of a remarkable and, to a startling degree, long misunderstood, human being. The insights provided necessarily prompt a range of reconsideration: about Simms, about his life and work, about why “Castle Dismal” has never been republished, about why no Simms scholar to this point has ever mentioned “Rawlins,” and, perhaps most of all, about the role chance plays in the process of historical discovery. It is this last topic that has most bemused your speaker, who has yet to tell you a *thing* about “Castle Dismal,” its plot, its characters, its setting (though I will say that a subplot involves a 30- year-old bachelor’s wooing of an 18 year-old to be his bride. And that her name is—Singleton.)

You’ll just have to wait until the new edition is published! But someday, maybe soon and at long last, as Simms himself long desired, “Castle Dismal” will reappear. And, perhaps, with the new material surrounding it, both the long wait and the importance of the work will be given newer, and deeper, meaning.



**REPORT OF GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY BY MEMBERS OF  
THE SOCIETY DURING THE PAST YEAR**

ANNA HEYWARD TAYLOR PAPERS,  
1886–1992

Anna Heyward Taylor (1879–1956), the remarkable South Carolinian whose life, artistic legacy, and writings are celebrated in *Selected Letters of Anna Heyward Taylor, South Carolina Artist and World Traveler*, edited by Edmund R. Taylor and Alexander Moore (University of South Carolina Press, 2010), traveled extensively throughout her lifetime, studying painting in Europe and soaking in the cultures of the Far East, the tropics of South America, the Caribbean islands, and Latin America. Ultimately, when in 1929 she made Charleston her permanent residence, Taylor became a significant contributor to the Charleston Renaissance through her watercolors and wood- and linoleum-block prints for which she is chiefly remembered by art historians and collectors.

Remembering Anna in “Personal Memories of Anna in Provincetown in 1928,” Edmund R. Taylor, M.D., the artist’s nephew, writes that Taylor was “the most interesting woman” he and his siblings had ever known. “Her many nieces and nephews were fascinated by their aunt. She had been all over the world. There was Will Beebe in the unexplored jungles of South America with panthers, eight foot long poisonous snakes, huge vampires, bloodsucking bats, pet monkeys, howling baboons, the ocean and great rivers, and the Southern Cross at night. She knew all kinds and colors of people and places. She had been in the Great War, and was chased by submarines, bombed by planes, and knew the German’s gun, Big Bertha. She had seen battlefields, rats, shell holes, trenches, and ridden in tanks. In her living room sat a huge shiny brass artillery shell and a bayonet was used as a fireplace poker. Many colorful paintings and interesting books decorated her walls. She smoked cigarettes and sipped cocktails, wore big riding breeches from the Orient and, on occasion, wore a long blue

cape. The spirit of adventure surrounded her. She was straight as an arrow, tall, strong, and very vigorous. She was quite social, and she loved to laugh....”

The inveterate traveler and seeker of exotic experiences throughout the world struck out on her own at the start of the twentieth century to become a professional artist. She traveled and studied in Great Britain and Europe and was in Japan when World War I interrupted her plans to complete a world tour. She accompanied two expeditions to British Guiana as a scientific illustrator, made Provincetown, Massachusetts, her artistic home, and resided, at various times, in the Caribbean and Mexico. The only time she is known to have put aside her paints and palettes was during her service with the American Red Cross in wartime France and Germany. All the while she wrote extraordinarily detailed letters, mostly addressed to her sister Ellen Elmore “Nell” Taylor. The names of more than a hundred artists fill her letters, and her circle of friends included such personages as “Wild Bill” Donovan, founder of the World War II Office of Strategic Services, naturalist and explorer William Beebe, and Natalie Vivian Scott, the flamboyant leader of an artists’ colony in Mexico. Her closest friendships, however, were with her sister Nell and the artist Rachel V. Hartley. Throughout her life Anna admonished Nell to “keep my letters,” calling them her diary as early as 1903 and as late as 1935. She encouraged Nell to circulate some but not all of her letters among family members but also instructed her to retrieve and preserve them. These letters and accompanying ephemera form the nucleus of a personal archive in excess of two and a half linear feet.

Born in Columbia, South Carolina, on 13 November 1879, Anna Heyward Taylor was a member of a family that had been distinguished since before the establishment of the city as state capital in 1786. Anna was the daughter of Dr. Benjamin Walter Taylor, a Confederate surgeon and leader in the state’s post-Civil War medical community. Among her

mother's ancestors, the Heyward family stretched back even further than the Taylors, boasting not only a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Heyward, Jr., and Nathaniel Heyward, one of the foremost rice planters of the nineteenth century, but, in Anna's own generation, a cousin, South Carolina governor Duncan Clinch Heyward. Taylor attended the Presbyterian College for Women in Columbia. (The school later became Chicora College and ultimately Queen's College after moving to Charlotte, North Carolina.) From 1900 to 1901 she resided in New York City, where she studied at the New York School of Art and the Art Students League. At the New York School of Art, she met and was inspired by its director, William Merritt Chase, one of America's foremost artists and teachers. She traveled with Chase's class to the Netherlands in 1903, choosing to continue her studies with him rather than accept a scholarship to the Philadelphia Art School.

From on board ship, the Holland-America Line T.S.S. *Potsdam*, en route to Europe, Anna wrote on 16 June [1903] to tell Nell how pleased she was that she had not been bothered yet with seasickness. "If one judged from my appetite & my shoes they wouldn't hesitate to place me as a Yankee. Someone remarked yesterday, to my indignation, that I am a typical American. I hastened to inform them that I am anything but that for I was not at all loyal & only patriotic where the South & my state were concerned. The girl was simply scandalized much to my amusement. I must say that to be a typical American is not my ambition." Although her letters from Holland mention such exotic experiences as a visit to a beer garden to listen to the music and drink beer, they are largely filled with details of William Merritt Chase's criticism of her painting. "Have been working hard this week. Mr. Chase gave me an easel criticism of my first out of doors sketch," she wrote from Haarlem on 19 July, "& [he] told me that it was unusual for a beginner. So I am quite cheerful." However, Chase's confidence in his young student's progress, often cited in these

early letters, did not always betoken the neophyte artist's own self assurance. Her letter of 9 August reflects some of the challenges she faced. "Last Wednesday I was in a most exalted humor so determined to try my hand on a head. Such a mess! I don't know why I can't get them for I get good color in still life & landscape. Well I got at a dreadfully low ebb & it was only under protest that I went to Zandroot next day to sketch. I found a fascinating fence corner so concluded that I would do a Mauve. I really made a good study, got sunlight & you could almost hit your nose against the fence. I had just finished & gotten off some little distance to view my masterpiece when a strong gust of wind came along & to my horror I saw easel & sketch go down in the dust. When I picked up my canvass the whole road, stones & all were on it. There was nothing to do but scrape it. I stamped & swore but nothing helped my feelings, so my spirits rose & I finally got some of my enthusiasm back. The next day we went to a little place near here called Heemstede & sketched in a garden. I made a pretty good sketch. As usual the hardest thing in it I got best. If I have three studies worth the freight back I shall be happy." With the summer of 1903 rapidly coming to a close and her studies abroad nearing their end, Taylor's 17 August letter exudes the young woman's growing respect and affection for her teacher. "I work out of doors whenever the weather permits & my hands are (horrors) getting freckled. I live in hope that a severe course of gloves will soon cure them, when the class is over. Alas! only three more weeks & I am just getting into working. Mr. Chase becomes dearer & dearer. He is so nice to me, the girls all envy me. He certainly likes my work & says I *must* go on. I can see that my work is ahead of all the rest of the beginners & better than some of those who have studied out of doors before. Don't think that I am doing masterpieces, for all I do are studies...."

Taylor returned to Europe to study with Chase in London the following summer. The Chase classes of 1903 and 1904 were the first great

watershed in her life as an artist. Based on the friendships formed there, wherever she went for the rest of her life, Anna Heyward Taylor found a community of artists united by the experience of having studied with William Merritt Chase. It was while she was there that she and her fellow students met John Singer Sargent and experienced firsthand the Japanese mode of decorating. A letter of 5 July [1904], written by Anna from London, includes a reference to Francis James Norman having brought "some exquisite Japanese paintings to show us" and a visit to view James Abbott McNeill Whistler's famous peacock room. Apparently the meeting with Sargent was even more awe-inspiring, for on 14 July Anna excitedly wrote to Nell, "Now for the best news of all! I have seen 'S a r g e n t.' We all went to his studio this evening. It is just across from Abbey's. Sargent is just as easy & unaffected as if he were nobody at all. He is almost six feet, wears a beard, blue eyes, & perfectly natural. I was so busy looking at him that I didn't have time to look at the pictures much....He has two studios. I not only shook hands with him, but conversed with him!...The whole class has been in a gale since leaving his studio & all are ready to die now, and all ready to stop painting."

Returning to Columbia, Taylor became an instructor at her alma mater, the Presbyterian College for Women. In 1908 and 1909 Anna and Nell took an extended European tour during which the sisters traveled throughout Italy, England, Scotland, and visited the Swiss resort Chateau d'Oex. With Nell close at hand, Anna sent lengthy letters, reflective of her high spirits, to her younger brother, Edmund Rhett Taylor, and to "Cousin Coley," Sally Coles Goodwyn. The correspondence reveals that Anna secured an artist's license to work and study in the museums and galleries of Rome; however, her letters provide little evidence that she did much painting or sketching, even though she commented routinely on art and culture. Upon her return, Anna Taylor taught again at Presbyterian College, by then Chicora College, between 1911 and 1913. Around the

summer of 1912 Taylor probably studied in Provincetown, Massachusetts, at the Cape Cod School of Art run by Charles Webster Hawthorne.

In 1914, having been freed from constraints of family obligations with the death of both parents and the marriage of her sister, Anna Taylor set out for Asia on what was to have been an extended around-the-world tour, a trip that ultimately was interrupted by the Great War. Anna had become absorbed with Japonism, the artistic movement in which European and American artists discovered and adopted Oriental aesthetics and artistic techniques for such diverse genres as painting, printmaking, textile art, ceramics, gardening, and architecture, and her letters from Tokyo and the Far East describe the culture of the people of Japan—as well as Korea and China, where she traveled briefly— along with her interaction with fellow devotees of Japonism. Anna was already well-versed in Asian printmaking and textile art by the time she was introduced to Helen Hyde, one of the first American artists to master Japanese-style printmaking. Hyde, fellow South Carolinians and Japanese art and aesthetics enthusiasts Stanhope and Camilla Sams, and Taylor all reluctantly returned to America as the global conflict spread in late 1914. True to form and ever cognizant of the fact that her letters formed the backbone of her life story, Anna had written from Toyko in April 1914, once again giving instructions that Nell “keep up with all my letters because they are my diary so don’t let any of the family have them.”

Following her return from Japan in the fall of 1914, Taylor spent nearly two years in South Carolina and the Northeast. She organized exhibitions that featured works of modern printmakers, including a solo exhibition of Helen Hyde’s prints. Yet her teaching and studies did little to assuage her desire for adventure far from home, so she accepted an opportunity to visit South America as part of a scientific team headed for British Guiana, where she joined the staff of scientist and explorer William Beebe at Kalacoon, his tropical research station. As a scientific illustrator, Taylor

drew and painted specimens. She also painted for herself. Traveling there and back, she visited Caribbean islands, sketching and painting as she went. In some ways, Anna Heyward Taylor felt right at home in the islands. She wrote on 31 January [1916], while on board ship "Lying outside St. George, Grenada," commenting to Nell, "The Negroes talk almost exactly like the Charleston Negroes, the same intonation & rising inflexion at the end of sentences." And, again, on 4 February [1916], this time from Port of Spain, Trinidad, she noted the similarities: "The houses remind me of the old places in Charleston which were evidently modeled after these West Indian houses. It is weird the similarity between the speech of the Charleston Negroes & whites & these. The other members of the party find it very hard to understand the Negroes, whereas I understand them without the slightest difficulty."

In addition to her responsibilities as a scientific illustrator in support of the expedition staff, Anna informed her sister on 9 February, she was to serve as housekeeper: "at least I have charge of the cook & the ordering of things. It certainly carries me back to the hours mother used to spend in the storeroom giving out things, for you have to keep things under lock & key." Once onsite at Kalacoon, situated on the Mazaruni River, Essequibo, British Guiana, Taylor found herself surprised by her surroundings. "My idea of the tropics & jungle is absolutely different from my preconceived notion of it," she wrote in a letter of 1 March [1916]. "For instance there isn't a single mosquito on this hill & I have only felt 2 since being up here & that was the other night in the valley....We use nets to keep off vampires [bats]." She was equally astonished "at the ease with which I do close drawing. It is very interesting work." Personalities and idiosyncracies aside, the members of the expedition, each clearly delineated in words within the artist's letters, enjoyed a camaraderie that bound them together as a team. On 7 March, for example, Will Beebe returned from the bush with a male Capuchin monkey. What unfolds next

in Anna's narrative is a story of hilarity, at the expense of fellow artist Rachel Hartley. "Monkey is awfully good eating so Will suggested that we have him for dinner. After he was skinned I took him in the kitchen to see Anne [the cook] about cooking him. She almost expired at the idea of cooking & eating monkey, never having cooked one in her life before. Fortunately Sam came in just then & said he knew all about it that he would show her & eat all we didn't. Well this was just the occasion to get something up on Rachel, for Inness [Hartley] had eaten them in Brazil. We just had soup so we could have a good dinner first, then a warmed over roast came with the covered dish of stew into which Sam had slipped the uncooked hand. Will helped the dishes, so he helped Rachel to a little which she exclaimed over 'It smelt so good.' We all fairly held our breath. Will helped Inness next, pulling the black hand under some pieces of meat. What must Rachel do but spy this dark thing. 'Oh, that's a gizzard, isn't it? Do let me have it' & make a dive for it with her fork. She picked it up & put it on her plate & then—if you could have seen her face!! 'Heavens, what is this!' She fairly shouted. Needless to say we drowned her squeals! It really was awfully good & tender but I couldn't do more than taste this time for I had seen the skinned skull with the eyes still in."

Taylor had many exciting experiences studying the flora and fauna of the South American jungles, but among the most unlikely of her 1916 jungle adventures, Anna prepared a rustic lunch for and entertained former president Teddy Roosevelt and his wife. "What do you think," she queried on 3 March, "of me entertaining Roosevelt and his wife in the jungle? Roosevelt is a great friend of Mr. Beebe's and really came this far down because of our party being here....We just about fainted when Will came over Sunday afternoon and broke the news that they would all be over to lunch Monday. We all walked over after dinner Sunday evening and met them. 'Teddy' at once claimed relationship with me through the Barnwells and Elliots, and Mrs. Roosevelt and I talked about Cousin Sally



Coles and various other kin of mine in Virginia. I think that he is physically one of the ugliest and most unattractive looking men I ever saw, but very virile and forceful. I never saw anyone so well adapted for caricature.” “Our dining table for our lunch for 12 people was made of three rough boards nailed together and put on horses,” she continued. “Some of the party sat on boxes as there weren’t enough chairs to go around. Our doilies were pieces of white cloth I had bought in case of emergency for we couldn’t find our paper ones anywhere. Our center piece was a lovely Hindoo square which toned in beautifully with the red of the bare boards and the pink wild flowers were in a dark pottery Indian bowl Rachel had picked up. The color scheme was charming. Of course Roosevelt was on Rachel’s right and I sat next to him. They were all amazed at the lunch Rachel and I managed to get up. We had veal, rice, butter beans, pumpkin, asparagus and mayonnaise, rice pudding and canned pears.” Obviously pleased with the result, Anna noted, “I have never seen people easier to entertain and they ‘spent the day’ in true old time fashion.”

The effects of malaria, contracted while in British Guiana, eventually caused Anna Heyward Taylor to return home. Back in the United States by June 1916, she soon was studying painting and woodblock printing at Provincetown with Swedish artist Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt. The Provincetown summer of 1916 brought Anna immediate exposure to white-line block carving or “Provincetown printmaking” and the landscape painting styles of Nordfeldt and Charles Webster Hawthorne as well as an introduction to fiber art works, including batiks, from husband and wife artists William and Marguerite Thompson Zorach.

Taylor had planned to accompany Will Beebe on a second expedition to British Guiana in 1917 but the expedition was canceled as the United States moved closer to entering the Great War. In April 1917, America joined the Allied forces, declaring war on the Central Powers. Anna organized service groups in Columbia but then decided to make a greater

commitment to the war effort. At the age of thirty-seven, she volunteered for the American Red Cross and served from October 1917 until June 1919 in France and occupied Germany. From Europe she again appealed to Nell with exhortations to "keep my letters." She began numbering them and kept a log to account for them. Her Red Cross responsibilities were, first, the preparation of surgical dressing packages for wounded troops and, then, canteen duty. Her interaction with soldiers provided first-hand tales of the war, many of which she recounted in her letters home. She experienced the bombing of Paris by German planes, and after the 11 November 1918 armistice, she toured the battlefields of the western front and was among a select group of women who established Red Cross services in Germany. While she did no painting in France, Anna did find time to visit the Louvre.

From "On board the S.S. Rhochambeau," 5 November [1917], Anna wrote, "I can't decide whether I am utterly lacking in imagination or whether I am brave. I don't believe that I don't realize our danger for I do, but I seem to have absolutely no fear & look forward to a possible accident as a danger I shall pass through & can't imagine myself drowned." In all likelihood, little did she realize the import of her words, but only five days later, ensconced at the Hotel de Balzac, Paris, she confided: "I wrote you that I really couldn't understand myself, that either I had no imagination or was wonderfully brave. I have come to the conclusion that it's lack of imagination because I never pictured the pandemonium which would reign on a boat which had been torpedoed. I concluded that order would be the natural thing. Bishop McCormick told Virginia that the captain said that he had never had such an anxious voyage before, because of the large number of women on board & the 300 Armenians below. If anything had happened & if the vigilance committee had not been able to hold the Armenians back no one would have been saved. They all went around armed, which I hear the Captain didn't like. There were six spies on board,

I hear, & we also heard that one was tried immediately & shot next day. The captain never left the bridge once. Tuesday night we were chased by a U-boat & lots of people, not me for I was sleeping the sleep of the brave on deck, felt the boat speed up tremendously & continue going fast for some time. That was the critical moment. The boat sent out an S.O.S. call which explains the destroyers meeting us so far out, out of sight of land & the whole way in two were crossing & recrossing in our wake until we got into the river." The same letter tells of Anna having met the captain of the S.S. *Antilles*, a passenger-cargo ship chartered by the U.S. Army in 1917 for employment as a civilian-manned transport that was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine on 17 October 1917 while homeward bound after delivering troops to France.

As expected, war news dominates most of her letters from this time, some of it gleaned firsthand and some recounted from hearsay. "I heard that the American dead were pretty badly treated by the Germans, throats cut, etc. Of course, it's hearsay, but it sounds like the truth," she wrote from Paris on 22 November. "We heard that a woman spy was executed at Versailles the other day. She was a German actress who had been living here for some years. She had been to the front several times in spite of being under suspicion. Finally she was caught & executed in spite of the fact that France said she would never execute a woman. She showed the most extraordinary amount of bravado, tripping down between the line of sixty men, chucking one fellow under the chin, saying that she hated to leave such a handsome fellow, & making remarks to various others." In Paris, she reported in her letter of 29 November [1917], "airships" were heard both night and day; consequently, "All the streetlights have little roofs to throw the light down & no cars have lights except candles in the lanterns." Ofttimes it was difficult to separate fact from fiction. Indeed, some of the news conveyed in the letters bears the mark of the sensationalism expected when rumor runs rampant. One example was

retold in a letter written by Anna on 23 December [1917]: "I hear that the only people the Germans are really afraid of are the Negro French Troops from Africa. They never use any weapon but huge Bowie knives, & if possible simply cut the Germans' heads off. The prize they always aim for is a Col's head....They never take a prisoner & the Germans make for home when their black faces loom up. In one of the first aid huts they had a lot of wounded of both armies waiting to be dressed. A huge Negro was lying unconscious with just the stub of an arm left. He came too & realizing that a wounded German boy [was] next to him, he found his knife, bent over on his stub & hacked off the head of the German prisoner."

In the midst of war, Anna found time for such leisure time activities as opera performances and knitting parties. On 3 January [1918] she wrote to Nell about having attended New Year's Eve entertainment at the Canadian canteen. "You would be surprised to find how often the men say they get tired of Paris in a few days and want to get back to the front. One man said that out there they knew each other but just as soon as they come to town they become strangers to each other. He says that it's the ordinary thing to see a man take his last piece of bread & give it to some wounded man, that the men never seem to think of themselves." Her interaction with soldiers on leave from the front was the source of additional news. "Some Canadians at the canteen were telling Mrs. Bellamy the other night how they fraternized with 'Fritz' last winter," Taylor reported on 17 January [1918]. "It was when there was such an awful tension on the front & diplomatically too. The trenches were within a few yards of each other so the men would stand up at times on the edges & snowball each other as hard as they could & not a shot fired. Each side would keep watch & the minute an officer was seen they would yell, 'Here comes an officer!' and everything would duck into the trenches. Doesn't that seem incredible?" The Red Cross, she noted, also was responsible for providing preventative education on sexually transmitted infectious

diseases to soldiers on leave from the front. "As I wrote you before," her letter of 17 January continues, "this canteen is really to help the fellows get hold of themselves & adjusted before being turned loose on the town. Before coming down for their supper they are given a 15 minute talk on the moral conditions here & a few plain truths told them. Every man has to report just as they do in U.S. Army & have an inspection. But they are not required to give their name as such, but if he becomes infected his people are notified & his wife's pension stops. They say that this method has produced better results than any other."

Anna was relocated in late February 1918 to an American Red Cross Rest Station at Bourges, perhaps in part as a consequence of the type of air raids over Paris that she describes in a letter of 2 February. With the spring offensive of 1918 underway, she confided to Nell, in a letter written on Easter Monday, 1 April, "Everyone is on a strain these days. I dreamed last night that the Germans were moving on Paris, but the real news is that the British are holding. Trains of our wounded from the front come through every day, of course these are mostly cases from the hospitals being moved out for the freshly wounded & gassed men. Our troops are being sent up, however mostly as supports for the British than for offensive fighting, I hear." And with so many troops on the move, the canteen was significantly busier. On 15 April, she reported that "our canteen is growing in leaps & bounds. Yesterday we served 878 French & several 100 Americans. Several times lately we have served over fifty at a meal. We only serve drinks & bread to the French & only meals to Americans passing through." After vacationing in St. Jean de Luz in May 1918, Anna found the canteen even busier. "Our work grows in leaps & bounds," she told Nell on 27 July, and "in fact there is a difference every week. In the first 3 weeks of this month we have served over 25,000 men & last Sunday we served over 500 meals, which does not include the sale of drinks & sandwiches to French & American." On 20 October 1918, she noted, "I

had six trains to day between 6 & 7 o'clock A.M. & 3 were in the station at once. One train had 1400 men from upper N.Y. City & of all undisciplined troops I have ever encountered they were the worst. Even their own officers said that they had no control over them & they had no non-coms at all. I would have refused to serve them if I hadn't known they were probably going to be put at once in our new drive & probably most of them get killed." Letters from this time also mention German P.O.W.'s passing through Bourges.

Shortly after the armistice was signed on 11 November 1918, Anna Heyward Taylor visited the battlegrounds she had long wished to see. Writing from Paris on 12 January [1919], she told of a late November adventure in which "we started out in a Ford truck in the pouring rain for Varennes...." "Varennes," she went on to explain, "is in the Argonnes Forest & just below where that fight began....Just here is where you see the fierce fighting our wonderful men did. It was a dreadful sight to see those steep hills simply covered with places where our men had dug in advancing inch by inch, finally taking in a rush over the top. Probably every hole at sometime during the battle had a dead soldier in it. These hills the French had sat at the bottom of & refused to take for 4 years. They claimed that the Argonnes couldn't be taken. However, the Mort Hommes (Dead Man's Hill) near Verdun was the scene of frightful fighting, the beginning of the war & resulted in 800,000 men killed & wounded for the two armies. There are skeletons unburied there now." Another letter, 15 January, describes her trip to Verdun: "Our road wound up the hill & all along the slope were dugouts. We investigated some & really it was surprising how well fixed up they were, but at best dreadful places to live in. We saw them just as they had been left except for most of the ammunition. We saw a good many rats running around. Of course all the bodies have been buried & most of the big ammunition picked up....Right on top [of the hill] were the trenches which we followed, wire entanglements, machine gun advanced

posts, listening stations, all just as the boys left them, boxes of ammunition & hand-grenades everywhere. I tell you we had to walk turkey to keep from stepping on one—if we had, everything would have been over....If we had followed the trenches about a mile further we would have found some German skeletons.”

Taylor returned to the United States during the summer of 1919 and the following year signed on again for duty with William Beebe in British Guiana. While she volunteered as an unpaid scientific illustrator, she was able to collect many images that she later used to create color prints and batiks. Her use of scientific information to create art was highly original and much discussed by naturalists and artists. Stopovers en route to Katarbo, British Guiana, included Saint Croix, Georgetown, and Antigua. As described in a letter of 12 June [1920], Ann found life at Kartabo to her liking. “We are now settling down into our routine of work which is getting up at 6:30. We sleep in a tent & dress in the house, consequently have to air ourselves before the entire male population clothed in wrappers & alpagotos which are the slippers the natives wear. I sometimes take a stroll around the clearing where I find loads of things to do. In fact I feel quite snowed under, there is so much—a lifetime is nothing to put into this work. I have done three studies larger than anything I did before & feel very much encouraged for they look stronger & more direct in treatment than those I did before, however they were all vigorous kind of flowers....I work until 11:30 when everyone for the past week has been bathing (in the mile wide river)....After lunch everyone gets back to work until tea at 4 o'clock, after which I go for a walk in the jungle armed with a butterfly net & a bottle in which to put the specimens. I am collecting butterflies for the Museum in Charleston. After dinner we all do some writing.”

Further upriver, however, the relative genteelness of life at Kartabo seemed less certain. After having visited a forested area up the Cuyani River, Anna wrote, from Kartabo, 15 June, describing the adventure. “It

was low tide so the landing was muddy to say the least. I was the first girl to get out & stepped...on the slippery muddy log & the expected happened! There was no trail to follow, just cut our way through. The forests are not as beautiful as the woods at Kalacoon, for these have been cut over, all the huge mora trees with flying buttresses are gone....” She found herself “getting quite expert catching insects & can see a flower a mile off.” “The amount of work to do is overpowering,” she confessed. “I could only get two studies done yesterday & today, for the flowers don’t keep. I get the drawing in as soon as possible & then work from memory to a certain extent.” Among the amusements punctuating daily life were three baby monkeys in camp, one reputedly being the first known red howler kept in captivity. Her letter from Kartabo, written 26 July [1920], relates anecdotes about trying to feed them and quips, “How often I have wished for the children. We have three baby monkeys!” Another letter, this one written from Georgetown on 3 August, mentions the arrival of yet another monkey and provides the names three of them—Georgette, Jello, and Jimmy. “It’s almost too much monkey,” she goes on to say, “for our end of the laboratory smelt all Sunday horribly of the monkeys, just like the zoo. I smoked cigarettes all day to drown the odor.”

By September 1920, Anna Heyward Taylor’s work at Kartabo was wrapping up and the team of scientists from Harvard who had worked alongside the Beebe expedition was leaving. She wrote of her anxiousness to return home, probably in October. When Taylor arrived in the United States, she brought painting equipment, her sketches and watercolors, and live animals for the Bronx Zoo. Her experiences in the jungle made a lasting impression of Anna’s life and art. She described the influence of her expeditions in two articles published in *Christian Science Monitor*, “British Guiana Jungles,” 22 December 1920, and “British Guiana Flowers,” 17 January 1921. Throughout the early years of the 1920s, Taylor resided in New York City and exhibited her work. In early 1925 she



was one of three painters, along with poets, writers, and other artists, invited to the Edward MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire. In July 1925 she set out on yet another grand tour. Traveling aboard the T.S.S. *Martha Washington*, she crossed the Atlantic for a three-month tour of the Mediterranean and France. Her chief reason for the tour was to accompany Susan Greenough Hinkley Bradley on the elderly woman's final visit to Europe. Taylor was forty-seven years old, and Bradley seventy-four. An amateur artist herself, Bradley had studied art as a young person in Europe and also with William Merritt Chase. Taylor had first met Bradley's son Walter as early as 1903 when they, too, were Chase's students. Over the course of the trip Taylor penned several long letters describing visits to the chief shrines of Western art. They chronicle tourist experiences in Portugal, Italy, Greece, Sicily, Yugoslavia, and France as well as visits to art museums and the homes of wealthy art dealers and American expatriates.

Taylor returned to the United States in September 1925 but by the following year traveled with her friend Rachel Hartley to the U.S. Virgin Islands to absorb Caribbean culture and to concentrate on painting. While she worked hard to capture the shapes and colors of the tropics around her, she sometimes found her South Carolina upbringing had ill equipped her to deal with the Caribbean's more relaxed multiracial social life. From St. Thomas, on 24 February 1926, she recounted for Nell details of a dinner party attended by "high yellows," who, she wrote, "As fate would have it...gravitated towards us." Describing it as a "cosy supper party" and acknowledging that she and Rachel had "carried the situation off," she noted, "Rachel & I left early & all the way home were discussing how our different families would take the incident. Of course it means that we will not accept any more invitations there without know[ing] who the party includes." At the same time, she found herself questioning Nell about the barbarity of slave punishments practiced in the islands. St. Johns, she

declared, in a letter datelined 24 April [1926], was still suffering from the vestiges of a slave insurrection in 1733 “& the island has never amounted to anything since.” Her interest in the connection to slave trafficking had led Anna to read up on the history of St. Thomas, and, she announced, “I wish you would read the appalling punishments to which the slaves were subjected!! Red hot pincers, cutting off legs & hands, branding them on the forehead, cutting off ears & noses & breaking them on wheels!! Did we practice such barbarities! I am certainly going to look up the history of slavery when I get home.” Taylor worked mostly on watercolors while on the islands, painting largely in studio from memory and oftentimes on larger studies. When the time came for her to leave, in September 1926, she noted in a letter of 7 September that she had sold “ten of my sketches which will help along hugely with exhibition expenses.”

Before Anna Heyward Taylor settled in Charleston in 1929, much of her art had been inspired by the South American jungles and Caribbean islands. After her return, she came to create scenes more typically low country and ones that bore the attributes of the art movement called Southern regionalism. The companionship and proximity of fellow Southern artists—among them Alice Ravenel Huger Smith, Elizabeth O'Neill Verner, and Leila Waring—and the opportunity to apply her talents to local subjects was what Taylor likely sought as she made Charleston her permanent home. From the start, she participated in the city's cultural life, becoming absorbed in the work of the Southern States Art League and the greater Charleston Renaissance, joining the Poetry Society of South Carolina, and acting as a trustee of the Gibbes Art Gallery and Carolina Art Association. “Taylor's work fit within the artistic and cultural styles of the Charleston Renaissance,” the editors of *Selected Letters of Anna Heyward Taylor, South Carolina Artist and World Traveler* suggest. “She had her own vision of these styles—bolder in color, stronger in line and volume, and more cosmopolitan—but when it came to aesthetic and social

values, she made them all her own. For example, in 1931 she exhibited images of thirteen African American cabins at the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts. A friend from Charleston, Laura Bragg, was director of the museum and had sponsored the show.”

Taylor undertook her final big excursion when she was in her fifties but still in the full vigor of life, traveling to Mexico, where she lived between 1935 and 1936, and experiencing firsthand Latin American culture and the beauty of that nation. With political upheaval throughout Europe, it was little wonder that Mexico appealed to artists, writers, and bohemians. Taxco de Alarcón, in the state of Guerrero, boasted a Native American indigenous culture and an economy based on the creation of traditional textiles, silver, and ceramics. Expatriate Americans Natalie Vivian Scott and William Spratling had established an artist’s colony in Taxco that rivaled any place in Europe in the 1920s for its cheapness, vitality, and eccentricity. Taylor traveled throughout Mexico but spent most of her time in Taxco, where her friends Rachel Hartley and Alice Jones spent time with her. Her letters from the time overflow with descriptions of Mexican customs, native costumes, and the topography of the region. Taylor’s travels were within six distinct regions: Guanajuato, where she remained from June to September 1935; Mexico City, where she stayed between August and September 1935; Taxco, where Anna sojourned for six months between October 1935 and March 1936; Oaxaca, where she spent April 1936; Mexico City—Mt. Popocatepetl, Jalapa, where Anna was resident between May and June 1936; and Veracruz, where she concluded her visit to Mexico in July 1936. And, as with each of her previous ventures, there was the reminder, this time in a letter to Nell datelined Guanajuato, 13 June [1935], imploring, “Please keep my letters as you have always done.”

Anna quickly threw herself into her work, noting in that same early letter from Guanajuato, “I go out with numerous sheets of paper & sketch in

heavy pencil the figures as they go by, & in that way am getting my hand back & also getting action in the figures.” Two months later, 9 August, she again wrote, still in Guanajuato, “I have finally gotten in the mind for work as we have been having some sunshine, also time is pressing & I am just beginning to see things I really want to do. I am working in oil on pink & yellow charcoal paper & have at least worked out my technique. The papers have just the quality of color of these lovely pink, yellow churches. I am doing big things 20x24. I have never really gotten used to this altitude and feel very tired most of the time; in fact there have been very few days that I have felt like my usual very energetic self.” She also expressed fears of a coming world war and the unpreparedness of the United States, and noted the overall effect of the Depression economy on art. “Our situation is pathetic if a general war does take place, totally unprepared & our empty treasury,” Anna lamented in a letter penned from Mexico City, 27 August [1935]. “However Mexico will be flooded with people who can’t go to Europe, so the end of Mexico for the artist, but no use to paint because there is no one to buy. I have decided to change my profession when I return because I can’t see any income from art. I shall try my hand on writing while down here. Katharine Ripley succeeded, so I may.” Taylor continued to be plagued by these self doubts through much of her visit to Latin America and seemed beset with the notion of taking up writing in place of art. In her letter of 7 September, while anticipating a “marvelous winter in Taxco,” Anna again suggested “I shall try my hand on writing,” going on to say, “I believe the art world is dead for some years to come.” The letter mentions both the idea of short fiction and Anna’s interest in compiling a small pocket edition of the flora of Mexico. “Of course,” she continued, “I shall go on with my painting as I only work ½ day anyhow. Perhaps I can sell some short articles or stories. I must use up my painting materials as I have them. I may do the best work I ever have done as it will be done absolutely to please myself.”

In Taxco, Taylor found social life lively and her time to paint limited. Among the many artists in residence were Eliot O'Hara, a distinguished watercolorist, plus Edward Wolfe and Japanese painter and printmaker Tamiji Kitagawa. During her stay there Anna also met Virginia Davis Hersch, author of *Storm Beach: A Novel of Charleston* (1933). Describing social life at Taxco, Anna remarked, on 12 October, "Well, I have landed right into a gay life but I am afraid too gay for me really to fit into, numerous cock-tails, brandies etc, & poker." Her 28 October missive tells of "poker supper parties" lasting until 3:00 or 4:00 AM. "Too late for me & of course one can't work next day." The locale, though, she found "most lovely," describing to Nell, in a letter of 4 October, the residence in which she was living. "The house is some little distance up the side of the mountain....My room has a wide door & window opening down to the floor. Outside you have a glorious view of the Cathedral, trees of the Plaza & tiled roofs of the houses, the mountains beyond, range after range. The steep slope is terraced & all kind of flowers planted." "I took a walk this morning & found the most beautiful wild flowers," the letter continues. "The marigold, lantana, zinnia, poinsettia are all native. I am going to start right off on the drawing & pressing of the flowers & expect to go on all day trips out in the mountains both on burro & on foot. I hope I can find someone who wants to do this with me. An old craft of making things out of tin has been revived here, & I shall have a tin botanist's box made to put my specimens in." The idea of the guide to the flora of Mexico figures in a number of the letters from Anna's stay in Taxco yet she faced obstacles. Lamenting, in a letter penned on 21 October, "The more I learn about what hasn't been done on the flora of Mexico the more remote my idea of a pocket edition becomes," she still recognized that "my plates can be used by me in various ways & I may get some systematist to work with me." She continued to do watercolors and to work on her flower plates, noting on 6 January 1936, "I am going full tilt at last on the painting line. Am doing watercolors on the

largest sheets & using the largest brushes. They seem strong & full of color & I may have some good stuff. I have done six already. If I keep on at this rate my materials will give out." She had heard from one publishing house that they were not interested in bringing out the flora guide and indicated that she might publish it herself.

The stay at Taxco offered other opportunities for imbibing the local indigenous culture. One such adventure is outlined in a letter penned on 5 February from Taxco but telling of "a wonderful trip over to a distant village to attend a fiesta." Anna Taylor found herself the only light-skinned person in the village except for an albino Indian boy. "There were hundreds of Indians and some very beautiful types. You saw no men & girls together, the men all with each other & the women the same, except the families....Of course there were some drunks, but all harmless & not noisy. There was a band & I only wish you could have heard it. It became more & more remarkable as the night wore on, & when I went to bed at one the tequila was working fine so every instrument was on a different key & all playing solos. Dotted around were groups of three or four Indians playing on violins & guitars & singing. It was a glorious moonlight night & just about sundown they had a procession parading some sacred images from the church & a yellow canopy over one. All the people carried candles & sang. Finally they went in church & some small children, girls, dressed in white with veils & flowers in their hair & staffs, danced & sang. Also the actors in the Death & the Soul play danced too. About 9:30 the Moors & Christians was danced in the Plaza." "The idea of these plays," she noted, "are Spanish but most of the dancing is Indian from pre-conquest times, so I am told."

Always modest in her opinion of her own artwork, sometimes to the point of self-deprecation, Anna seldom commented on the merits of her work when compared to others. However, nearing the end of her stay at Taxco, she wrote to Nell, 24 March [1936], mentioning the fact that she

had been instructing some art students in watercolor, “for my paintings seem to have created a mild sensation, some people thinking them more interesting than [Eliot] O’Hara’s, having some depth & more composition.” “However,” she went on to say, “I have lived too long to have my head turned or to believe all people say.” Nonetheless, she reported that her friend and fellow artist Susan Knox was also at Taxco “& I do value her opinion & believe she says what she thinks & she does like mine better than O’Hara.”

When the second world war began, Taylor was back in Charleston. She immersed herself in organizing entertainment and parties for service personnel at the Charleston Naval Base, just as she had done years earlier for the Red Cross in Europe. She was also actively involved in the local Union Jack Club because of her affection for British soldiers and sailors. During her last decade of life, Taylor remained active and creative. Twenty-three of her original linoleum block prints illustrated Chalmers S. Murray’s *This Our Land: The Story of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina* (1949). When Anna was past seventy years of age, the Columbia Museum of Art and the Gibbes Art Gallery held a retrospective exhibition of her prints, oils, watercolors, screens, and batiks. Taylor received international recognition in March 1955 when Helen McCormack of the Gibbes Art Gallery sent ten of her prints to La Scala Opera House in Milan, Italy, as part of a Green Room exhibition at the opening of George and Ira Gershwin’s opera “Porgy and Bess.” Her prints complemented the manuscripts and mementos of her cousin DuBose Heyward’s 1924 novel *Porgy* and the play that was adapted for the opera.

In the last decade of her life, Taylor left Charleston only once: she returned to the inspiration of the Caribbean. Within two weeks of returning from the cruise, on 4 March 1956, Anna Heyward Taylor died at 3 Lamboll Street, her Charleston home. She was seventy-seven. Taylor was buried near her parents and other family members in Elmwood Cemetery,

Columbia. Her epitaph reads, "Her work which is of enduring quality will remain to attest to her reputation as an artist and her generosity as a citizen." In her last years, portions of her personal collection of her works of art were donated to the Gibbes Museum of Art in Charleston and the Columbia Museum of Art. Her will made financial bequests to both institutions to create endowments for the purchase of graphic arts.

In conjunction with the publication of *Selected Letters of Anna Heyward Taylor, South Carolina Artist and World Traveler* the Columbia Museum of Art and the University of South Carolina's McKissick Museum have mounted retrospective exhibitions featuring examples of her watercolors, prints, drawings, and batiks. Indeed, the artist's reputation among galleries and museums and her following among collectors has withstood the test of time. "Taylor's legacy," the book's editors wisely sum up, "has been that of a hardworking, innovative artist whose wanderlust and perennial curiosity about the world enriched the visual arts of her state and the nation. A pillar of the Charleston Renaissance, she was a regional artist for whom the whole globe was her neighborhood." **Gift of Dr. & Mrs. Edmund R. Taylor.**

PAPERS OF THE COUTURIER AND MCKELVEY FAMILIES,

1804, 1816, 1827, 1836, 1840, 1857–1922, 1939 and undated

The Couturier and McKelvey families settled in Upper St. John's Parish, Berkeley, South Carolina, as early as the eighteenth century. During the American Revolution, John Couturier served as captain of an independent company of cavalry under Gen. William Moultrie on Sullivan's Island in 1776. In 1779 he was commissioned captain of a company of light dragoons in the South Carolina State Troops under Colonel Daniel Horry. Couturier was also a member of the Continental Association Committee for St. Stephen's Parish. The most prominent member of the Couturier family in this collection of six hundred two manuscripts and two family Bibles is Peter James Couturier (1839– 1890). Born 1 August 1839, a son



of Peter James and Mary Rebecca Couturier, he entered South Carolina College in 1856 after completing a course of study at Charleston High School where he studied under Dr. R.M. Bruns. Like his father Peter before him, Peter Couturier graduated from South Carolina College in the class of 1859. The collection includes an invitation to the twentieth reunion of the class in September 1879.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Peter Couturier joined Boykin's Rangers and served throughout the war. On 7 April 1863 he married Elizabeth Sumter McKelvey (1838–1898). Several documents relate to their marriage. Four days before the event, Peter Couturier, of Loch Dhu plantation, sent his "Uncle [George S.] Bryan" a list of bonds belonging to Elizabeth, to which the attorney added a statement, 4 May 1863, detailing the marriage settlement. In 1864 Bryan wrote Dr. Philip Sidney Kirk to explain a document he had drafted: "Her statement [Elizabeth McKelvey's] & mine, with Peter's letter to me, will fully prove and fix the property to have been included within the settlement" and requested that he inform Mrs. Couturier that she "must not fret too much about Peter. His arm of service is in the least danger—and I am sure that for her sake he will not thrust himself into any unnecessary danger. We are feeling as secure here as if the war were over."

At least one member of the McKelvey family must have resided in Florence in the years after the war. On 2 January 1871 H.G. Avant was granted a license for retailing "spirits" in the town. On 1 May 1871 the Town Council of Florence issued License No. 1 under the ordinance "Regulating the Sale of Spiritous Liquors." In June 1871 H.G. Avant transferred the license to Robert McKelvey.

The bulk of the documents in the collection concern the activities of the Couturier and related families from the 1870s through the 1890s. When he returned from military service, Peter Couturier resumed planting. A volume dated 1872–1873 contains a record of cotton picked and rations provided

laborers on Moss Pond and Windsor plantations. An agreement, 8 February 1876, between Couturier and eight laborers provided that the laborers would work the property under Couturier's "appointed agt. Isaac Smith's direction, & to keep clean, cultivate, & harvest, properly, & in workmanlike order, the respective quantity of land named, & placed opposite our respective names." A similar agreement signed on 3 March 1877 between Peter Couturier and Gilbert Prioleau obligated the latter to work on Couturier's land four days a week "until his crop is harvested and gathered, doing each and every day a good & lawful days work" and granted Prioleau the use of a mule one day a week for working his crop. An 1878 agreement (bearing date 7 January) was for one year and specified work to be performed and the method of compensation. Another document in that year records cotton picked at Brick Kiln, Stable Yard, Gin House, Windsor, and Wilton plantations. A later journal, 1880–1882, contains a record of cotton production and accounts with laborers.

In addition to cotton, Couturier raised poultry and kept a record of his flock for the period 1879 through 1881. On at least one occasion, 16 February 1880, Charlestonian Thomas S. Inglesby expressed his dissatisfaction with chickens received from Couturier. Inglesby destroyed the chickens after testing and advised, "They are dunghills all three. If you cant do better than that you had better raise some other kind. They certainly did not come from the hen I gave you." Another interest of Couturier's was hunting dogs. A letter, 9 February 1879, from Francis L. Parker concerned his dog Romeo. Parker noted that he was contented "to leave his Education to you—if he compares favourably with the mother I am satisfied she was taken all in all the most satisfactory dog I ever hunted with." Parker urged Couturier to shoot "a mess of birds" and "let me give a game supper & drink your health & Romeo's with Dr. Ancrum & Kinloch." On 18 February Parker discussed an arrangement for sending ammunition and offered to let him keep Romeo for another season. "If this

proposition is agreeable let me know, if you desire to return him in March do it, if you desire to keep him I will send up what you may require to keep him going during the summer.”

There is evidence in the collection of Peter Couturier’s involvement in local affairs and politics in the 1870s. Included among the papers, 8 September 1874, are the signatories to an agreement to “form ourselves into a Subordinate Tax Union to be known as the Eutaw Tax Union in Charleston County.” During the presidential and gubernatorial campaigns of 1876 Couturier participated in the activities of the local Democratic club, known variously as Calamus Pond, Eutaw, and Cross. Three documents include minutes, “Roll of the Democratic Campaign Club of Calamus Pond,” and a resolution endorsing the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendrix for president and vice-president and Wade Hampton and William D. Simpson for governor and lieutenant-governor. The resolution also endorsed the platforms adopted in St. Louis and Columbia “as guaranteeing equal rights and protection to all classes of citizens, irrespective of race or color, and as giving us the true means of ensuring good government & promoting prosperity of all citizens.”

At some point around 1880 the Couturier family relocated to Lawson Pond plantation. Like many planters during the 1880s and 1890s, Peter Couturier and, later, after his death in 1890, his son J. Ransom Couturier continued to plant cotton but apparently lived close to the margin. The Couturiers conducted business with a succession of Charleston factors including W.K. Ryan, William C. Bee & Co., A.J. Salinas & Son, W.M. Conner, and Thos. P. Smith, McIver & Co. Couturier’s friend Lewis S. Jervey explained in a letter of 3 November 1884 that other members of the Bee firm wanted to know “why your account was not in better condition,” noted that “I find after crediting sales of 12 B/c only eight of which bear your mark ‘PJC’ that you still have a debt of over \$600,” and requested to be informed “what the balance of your crop will be.” By 1888 Couturier was

doing business with A.J. Salinas & Son. The firm agreed to “advance you \$50 money & \$250 supplies & fertilizers to be secured by a mortgage on your crop, one mule & six head of cattle & an agreement to ship us 5 b/c for each \$100 we advance or to pay a commission of \$1.50 on each b/c short” (18 February 1888). In June 1888 the factor pointed out that his account showed a negative balance of \$297.01: “Our agreement was to advance you \$300 & we will not go beyond that point.” When the firm sent Couturier \$30 in silver change for cotton picking in August, he was advised, “We congratulate you on the fine prospects for a crop. You’re a/c now is \$327.31 & as this is in excess of the amount we agreed to advance you, we must decline to fill all further orders, until you reduce same by shipments of cotton.”

In the spring of 1889 Peter Couturier applied to the Sinking Fund Commission, 15 April, for redemption of his lands in St. John’s Berkeley Parish. He argued “that these lands owned by me consist of three tracts, two of which yield no revenue whatever, and that the income derived from the third is extremely moderate,” described the consolidation of the lands, explained “that they were allowed to go to forfeiture because of the excessive assessment and because on two of the tracts the revenue was not sufficient to pay the taxes,” and provided the current and former assessed value. Couturier received a communication, 21 September 1889, from Columbia attorney John P. Thomas, Jr., that the Sinking Fund Commission approved his application for a discharge of the two tracts.

Charleston factor W.M. Conner advised Couturier in a communication written the day before the latter’s death on 14 October 1890 that “Notwithstanding my several request[s] to ship your cotton you have sent but two bales. This is nothing in consideration of your account.” By 1892 J. Ransom Couturier was doing business with the Charleston firm of Thos. P. Smith, McIver & Co. Correspondence and statements from the firm are indicative of the relationship between planters and factors. The collection

includes statements of cotton sold, reports on market conditions, and invoices for shipments of household and plantation supplies. A letter of 16 February 1893 informed Couturier that the firm was not handling Wilcox & Gibbes guano: "Besides the Wilcox & Gibbes are much higher pr ton, than Imperial & which stands as high, as any of the first class Guanoses that are sold." The firm offered apologies to Couturier for sending red corn to Pond Bluff. "It was a mistake of the merchant & we will see him about it" (16 February 1893). The firm also apologized for a shipment of meat that was apparently inferior. "We are glad always, to hear from our friends, reporting anything wrong about the goods we send, we always aim to send only good & sound goods" (15 August 1893).

Letters from the firm between October 1893 and January 1896 concerned for the most part Couturier's indebtedness. In October 1893 the firm was concerned that "You have drawn on us pretty freely this year & with the larger balance carried over from last year, we fear you will again fall short of paying out this year." Couturier apparently offered his animals and cattle as mortgage, but he was reminded, "this don't help the factor by furnishing the means for going on in business. We depend on getting back advances put out, to enable us to continue to advance another year—this is where trouble comes in" (17 October 1893). A day later, the firm complained about a shipment of three bales of cotton: "The Cottons are wet & look like the sides of the bales have been laying in the mud & goes through the bagging & injuring the cotton." Three bales were received on 9 November 1893 but the firm was expecting more. "The pressure on us is strong just now, and we must call on our friends to whom we have made liberal advances & where a/cs are large on our books, to exert themselves for our relief, by sending on cottons in good lots & soon as possible." Responding to a request for a plat of 460 acres of wooded land, the firm advised, "We assure you, that it will give us real pleasure if you can, by selling a part of your land, relieve yourselves of the incubus of debt resting

upon you" (28 August 1895). A letter of 11 January 1896 advised that the firm could not make an advance in view of his indebtedness, "but you can rest assured that we will not interfere with you during this year." Couturier received assurance that "we have only kind feelings for you and it would give us real pleasure, if in any way you could work out of your financial troubles, and save your property, or even a part of it." Enclosed with the letter was a description of Lawson Pond plantation "containing Seventeen hundred & forty (1740) acres more or less."

Lineage records of the Couturier, McKelvey, and related families are recorded in two Bibles. Also of interest are letters of Sarah Martha Kirk to her granddaughter, Sarah Singleton Kirk, and an undated handwritten recipe book. The majority of the recipes are attributed to individuals which suggests that the compilation may have been intended for publication. The volume also contains two pages of slave records. One page lists the birth dates of eight females from 1797 to 1861; the other is a list of the names of fifty-three slaves. **Gift of Mrs. Eliza Spiers Couturier.**

PAPERS OF THE MACDONALD, WILKINSON AND SANDERS FAMILIES,  
1892–1989

The Macdonald Family of Beaufort County, South Carolina was established with the arrival on St. Helena Island, in 1873, of James Ross Macdonald (1852–1917), an ambitious young Northerner with keen business acumen who quickly rose to the head of a cotton brokerage house and assumed a position of leadership within the sea island community. His success illustrates the transformation from the old South to the new, the shifting of power and influence from the antebellum planter aristocracy to an elite that was remarkably different from the pre-Civil War local leaders. An editorial in the *Beaufort Gazette* of 23 November 1917, just after James Ross Macdonald's death, noted the changes that Macdonald and others effected:

Mr. Macdonald belonged to a group of merchants who largely molded

the economic life of these sea islands during the trying times right after re-construction, during the period of the rise and fall of the phosphate industry with its demoralization of agriculture and five cent cotton, and the years of the great storms that swept this section between 1893 and 1899. Others of this group who have passed away were George Waterhouse, N. Christensen and John J. Dale. These men, through their extensive business connections, had to carry the thousands of Negro families dependent on the conditions named, through fair days and stormy, and succeeded in saving them from shipwreck more than once.

In 2009, three of Macdonald's granddaughters, daughters of Elizabeth Maie Wilkinson (1901–1991) and her English-born husband, Francis Edward (Ted) Wilkinson (1893–1967), donated approximately five linear feet of family papers, including original letters, photocopies of letters, diaries, manuscripts, and photographs, spanning the years 1892–1949, with a few items from the period 1950–1989. The correspondence from the 1890s until Macdonald's death in 1917, consists primarily of letters written during periods when Macdonald and his wife, Clare Peters Macdonald (1868–1951), were apart, due to Mr. Macdonald's business trips, but also includes a few scattered letters from friends. After 1917, the letters in the collection increase in number and frequency, with frequent exchanges between Clare Macdonald, and her children—Jack Macdonald (1894–1985), Margaret Macdonald Sanders (1899–1987), and Elizabeth Macdonald Wilkinson. The collection also contains a series of diaries, or introspective journals, kept by Elizabeth, beginning in 1908 and continuing, although irregularly until 1924. The earlier material in the collection focuses on St. Helena Island; family life at Frogmore Manor, the Macdonalds' home after 1908, with the exception of four years spent in Atlanta, 1913–1917; the Macdonalds' association with Penn School; and Mr. Macdonald's declining health and eventual death. After 1917, the

young Macdonalds began to leave home for periods of time: Jack served in France during World War I; Margaret enrolled in nurses training in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1919–1922; and Elizabeth spent three summers taking writing courses at Harvard. And after Elizabeth married, in 1922, a young man on his way to the mission fields of Africa, the correspondence expands to illuminate life on another continent. But most significantly, the letters detail the changes, economic and social, that took place, over the course of more than half a century, on the small South Carolina Sea Island of St. Helena.

The Beaufort area had attracted a number of Northerners during and just after the Civil War, primarily because Beaufort and the surrounding Sea Islands had fallen under Union control early in the war, and had become the focus of Northern reformers who, along with the Federal government, participated in the “Port Royal Experiment.” As a result, numbers of businessmen, teachers, doctors and nurses, and others interested in the welfare of the slaves who had been freed in fact, if not officially, with the fall of Port Royal, in November 1861, to Union forces commanded by Admiral Samuel Du Pont and the concomitant flight of the white plantation owners and their families from the region. Elizabeth Macdonald, the youngest daughter of James Ross Macdonald, wrote in her recollections of her childhood that, in the early 1890s, “there were about fifty white people on...[St. Helena] island and five thousand blacks [with] only one pre-war [white] family living in their family home.” The rest of the white people were, like her parents, from the North who had connections to the Civil War era enterprises.

One of the earliest émigrés from the North was Laura Towne (1825–1901), a member of a Philadelphia family that had long supported emancipation. Laura had studied homeopathic medicine, an unusual pursuit even for a single Northern woman, before joining the vanguard of reform-minded Northerners who flocked to the Beaufort area in 1861 and



1862. In June 1862, Ellen Murray (1834–1908), Miss Towne’s friend who had also traveled south for philanthropic reasons, began offering basic classes in reading and writing to former slaves on St. Helena Island. From that simple beginning, Penn School, named to honor William Penn and his inclusive concept of brotherhood, evolved into one of the best-known institutions devoted to the education of black children in the South. James Ross Macdonald and his family established strong ties to the Penn School and supported the cause of education on St. Helena Island for more than a half century. Ross served as a member of the institution’s board of trustees from 1901 until his death in 1917. Rossa B. Cooley, Laura Towne’s successor, eloquently described his relationship to the island and to the school in her book *School Acres: An Adventure in Rural Education* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930):

James R. Macdonald was an outstanding example of a philanthropist in business. Together with the school, he taught the freedmen the value of home ownership. Never was he willing to mortgage the house or the land. Many a time did he argue patiently with his customer and finally refuse him the loan that would put him in danger. He was a teacher in economics to whom all the people owe a large debt of gratitude. “Him my daddy,” say the old islanders as they stand in front of his picture in my office today.

James Ross Macdonald was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, 13 June 1852, the son of immigrants who had arrived in the United States as part of the influx of Irish fleeing the terrible conditions in their native land. His mother was Matilda Ross (ca. 1835–1872), and his father was Patrick Macdonald (ca. 1830–after 1880). They met and married, probably in 1851, in Fall River, where Matilda’s mother, Margaret Ross, lived with her five children. Listed on the 1850 Federal census as a native of Ireland, Margaret had arrived in New York in 1836 with her one-year-old daughter Matilda who claimed England as her birthplace. Little is known of the early

life of Patrick Macdonald. He was listed in the 1860 census in Providence, Rhode Island, living with his wife, Matilda, and their son, James, in the same household with his mother-in-law. He was a painter by trade and a native of Ireland. In addition to James Ross, the Macdonalds had at least two other children: Mary (ca. 1856–1859) and William G. (16 March–23 July 1862). Too young to serve in the Civil War, twelve-year-old Jimmy Macdonald went to work, in 1864, as an errand boy for a grocery business in Providence. Largely self-educated, Macdonald was nonetheless, in the eyes of his daughter Elizabeth, “the most well-informed man I have ever known....” In 1873, he left Rhode Island, largely because of concerns for his health. His mother’s recent death, on 26 September 1872 from tuberculosis, may have also influenced his decision to leave the North for a warmer climate. He found his way to South Carolina and went to work as a clerk for J.J. Dale and Company, a firm that specialized in Sea Island cotton, with offices in Beaufort and on St. Helena Island. The firm eventually became Macdonald, Wilkins, and Company, a name retained even after Macdonald’s death.

J. Ross Macdonald established an early connection with the Penn School and became a close friend and frequent advisor to both Laura Towne and Ellen Murray. In a letter of 15 April 1877, published in her *Letters and Diary...*, Laura mentioned, “Mr. Macdonald has two stores now.... Mr. M is very nice, gets everything we want, either from Beaufort or Savannah, charges very moderately, and every way does all he can for us. I like him better and better. He is a noble, splendid fellow.” And it was through the Penn School connection that Macdonald met the woman who would become his first wife. Elizabeth Winship (1852–1886), a native of England and friend of Ellen Murray, had journeyed to South Carolina in the early 1870s to help with the school. She taught at Penn and in some of the public schools on the island. Ross Macdonald knew her from his frequent

visits to Laura Towne's home, Frogmore, where he played chess one evening a week, according to Laura's diary entry for 26 November 1876. Elizabeth and Ross were married in St. Helena Episcopal Church in Beaufort on 31 January 1878. Their union produced no children, and Elizabeth died on 28 December 1886.

Ross Macdonald also met the woman who was to become his second wife at the Penn School. The couple's daughter, Elizabeth, recounted the circumstances of her parents' meeting and marriage in her own reminiscences, "What I Remember From My Early Life." Clare Imogene Peters, born in Frankfort, Pennsylvania, 30 September 1868, was the youngest of the fourteen children of Emanuel and Margaret Ann Deal Peters. Margaret Ann Peters had known Laura Towne before she moved from Pennsylvania to St. Helena in 1862, and the two maintained their friendship during the 1860s and 1870s. Six of Margaret's sons were homeopathic physicians and one of them, William C. Peters, relocated to St. Helena Island in 1881 at the urging of Laura Towne. According to Elizabeth's reminiscences, after Margaret Peters died in May 1885, her seventeen-year-old daughter Clare "grieved so deeply that at Miss Towne's suggestion, her family sent her South to visit her brother on St. Helena..." While there, she "assisted with some teaching at Penn School, for she had graduated from Normal School shortly before, and had a Teaching Certificate." It was during that visit that she met Ross Macdonald and his wife Elizabeth who "was then in the final stage of the illness that caused her death." After spending the school term 1885-86 on St. Helena, Clare returned to Pennsylvania where she remained until her father's death in 1889. Once more she returned to her brother's house in South Carolina and it was then that Ross fell in love with her. The couple married on 11 September 1889 in Philadelphia, much to the displeasure of Clare's eldest brother, Jacob, who refused to have any communication with her for more than a decade. The thirty-six-year-old bridegroom and

twenty-one-year-old bride took up residence in the house Ross had shared with his deceased wife. Located next to the Corner Store on the west side of St. Helena Island, where Ross had his office and conducted his cotton business, the house sheltered the Macdonald family until 1908.

The Macdonalds' first child, James Ross, Jr., known as Roy, was born in August 1892. Clare decided to spend the months before the baby was due under the care of her brother, Dr. Elwood Peters, in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. The earliest letters in the collection are from friends of the Macdonalds' offering their good wishes after the baby's birth. "I congratulate you both heartily on the arrival of the dear little stranger, whom I shall hope to get well acquainted with on St. Helena this winter," wrote Ellen Murray on 21 August from her summer residence in Milton, Massachusetts. Elizabeth Greenbank, M.D., Clare's friend and Philadelphia physician, also sent her a letter: "How thankful I am that all is over and baby here well and strong with you doing nicely." On 2 January 1895, Ellen Murray had occasion to send another letter of congratulations to the Macdonalds. This time she wrote from Frogmore Place on St. Helena with her own best wishes and those of Laura Towne upon the arrival of John Elwood Macdonald, the Macdonalds' second child. "I hope the little one may be as lovable and darling a child as his older brother." Jack, as he was called, was born either late on the night of 31 December or early in the morning of 1 January 1895, because he used both dates in later years as his birth date. Another child, the first daughter, named Margaret Clare, was born 8 (or 7) October 1899 in Hendersonville, North Carolina, where her mother had gone to get away from the heat of a St. Helena summer. On her birthday in 1906, Margaret received a letter from her father in which he recalled her birth: "Once upon a time a long time ago, well it was seven years ago to-day and that seems a long time to a little girl, a dear little baby was born in Hendersonville N.C." He also teased her about being a "tar heel," "because all the babies born in North Carolina

are tar heels and of course they couldn't be that unless they had tar on their heels." The fourth child, a daughter named Elizabeth Maie in honor of her mother's friend Dr. Elizabeth Greenbank, was born 23 January 1901 on St. Helena Island.

In her last years, Elizabeth, at the behest of her nephew, Ross Macdonald, recorded her memories of the first decade of her life on St. Helena Island, where the family had lived from September or October through May or June, while the summers were spent in cooler climates, either at Schroon Lake, New York, or in the North Carolina or Tennessee mountains. Elizabeth recalled many of the details of the places and people she had known in her formative years and also described the physical environment of St. Helena that had delighted her as a child and contributed to her urge, dating from the time she was seven, to write down the events and impressions that filled her days. She and her sister began a diary on the family's summer trip to Schroon Lake, New York, in 1908. "We left home June the 3 on a very hot day," she neatly inscribed in a "Students Note Book" that served as her diary. She and Margaret alternated with daily entries, with misspelled words corrected by their mother, until August when the book was filled. Another diary, covering events from December 1908 through June 1909 also survives in the collection. It was in December 1908 that the family moved to Frogmore Manor, on the ocean side of the island. Laura Towne and Ellen Murray had lived there together from 1869 until Towne died in 1901; Ellen Murray continued there until her death in 1908. In the spring of that year, Macdonald purchased the property and enlarged and repaired the house. An article in the Beaufort newspaper detailed the changes made: "The house has been partially rebuilt and repaired. An upper porch has been added and the exterior lines somewhat hanged yet it still has the appearance of the old time southern house." The writer of the article noted that the house was located on Harbor River, "commands a view of the long chain of Hunting Islands and

the intervening water,” and is “one of the most desirable places on our inland waters.”

While Elizabeth and Margaret recorded in their diary their mutual delight in exploring the house and surrounding grounds, there were also references to their brother Roy’s illness. His health began to deteriorate while he was at school at Blair Academy, in Blairsville, New Jersey, where he studied during the term 1907–08. He formally withdrew in August 1908, enrolled at Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Virginia, in the fall of 1908, where it was hoped the milder climate would aid his recovery from tuberculosis. The disease progressed, however, and young Macdonald died on 7 September 1910, at Schroon Lake, New York, where the family was spending the summer. A newspaper clipping from a New York paper noted, “Young Macdonald was in his nineteenth year and had shown unusual promise in his student life and contemplated the study of law and its practice for his life work.” Ross accompanied his son’s body to Beaufort for burial while the rest of the family remained at Schroon Lake. Of all the letters of sympathy that friends sent, perhaps the one most comforting was from Mrs. Macdonald’s Beaufort friend Abbie Holmes Christensen. “I hope you and Mr. Macdonald, and Jack, and dear Margaret and Elizabeth, may all come to realize that Roy is not *lost* to you, only gone on before, out of sight, but more than ever yours,” she wrote on 17 September from her summer residence at Intervale, New Hampshire. That view was clearly the one taken by the youngest child in the family. Elizabeth, who was nine when Roy died, sometime later, began recording in a separate notebook referred to as “the Book of Roy,” “all that I can remember of his doing or saying...so that he won’t go quite away from me.” Over the course of several years, she filled fifty pages with memories of her brother. In many of her daily diary entries, she directed her writing to Roy, especially on the anniversary of his death. “The seventh of September, Roy,” she wrote in 1916, “Are you in heaven or still struggling on in some other world?” And

on 7 September 1917, when the family was at Schroon Lake for the first time since Roy's death, she wrote, "I was so happy for a while today because you seemed so near that it was as if you had never gone away and the years rolled back...and we were as we used to be."

Elizabeth wrote about everything that she experienced in her adolescent years in her diary. Beginning with the entries for New Years 1913, she described not only the events of her days, but also her rapidly changing emotional state, in a systematic and detailed fashion. Her reason for keeping a diary was concisely stated on the first page: "This diary is almost entirely for the sake of my children. When my eldest girl is twelve I am going to give it to her to read." Elizabeth obviously wanted her own children to have an advantage she did not have. She hoped her diary would serve as an instruction manual for growing up with specific examples of the experiences she had faced. "Dear children if you want a portrait of your mother at 12, here it is," she wrote. After describing her physical characteristics, she sketched her character: "I am ambitious, have what I used to consider determination, but I am afraid its only stubbornness. I try to be good but with only small success, and am conceited," she confessed. She also admitted, "I hate the thought of growing up, and yet I am always dreaming of the man I will marry. I don't care about his looks very much, though of course I want him to be handsome," she reasoned. "I want him to be much stronger than I am, both physically and mentally. And of course I want him to love me ever so much and be very good...I guess I am picturing a saint but that is the way I want him to be." Elizabeth conscientiously continued her entries for a decade, with only a few short lapses, until October 1923, more than a year after her marriage.

Even though Elizabeth was always introspective and recorded her fears, hopes, and dreams in her diary entries, and in her later letters as well, she also described the events, people, and places that made up her

daily life. She described Frogmore Manor and its grounds and gardens, mentioned her friends and playmates, especially Orinda "Rin" Ford, her best friend on the island, related her interactions with her parents, and commented on the people who visited her home. But much of the space in the diary was devoted to reflections on her efforts at writing stories and poems. In her entry for 6 July 1913, she explained her frustration with her literary efforts:

I hate sentimental things...but I adore sentiment, and romance makes me tingle in every vein. Real romance. The kind that you feel, but cannot place. Sometimes it is in books, sometimes in life and most of all in nature. I am always stirring at it in my storys but I have never succeeded in getting even the faintest suggestions, the most subtle feeling. That is why I stop most of them. I get disgusted with my inability to do what I want.

Her stories were typical of a girl of twelve. She created scenarios similar to those in the books she had read. Charming princes, enchanted places and fairies dominated the short narratives she wrote in her diary. She also copied poems that she admired and even attempted a few poems of her own.

Life for all the Macdonalds changed dramatically in 1913 when the parents decided that their children needed the educational advantages that only a city could provide. Jack, who was of college age, had decided to attend the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, and it was to that place that the family moved in the fall of 1913.

Margaret and Elizabeth were enrolled at the Washington Seminary, a school for girls that numbered among its students, from 1914 to 1918, Margaret Mitchell, who would later gain fame for *Gone With The Wind*. While living on St. Helena, the children had studied under the supervision of a governess, or their mother, and were not accustomed to the structure of a more traditional school; nonetheless, they flourished in their new



environment. Elizabeth reported the results of her studies from the fall term of 1913 in her diary entry for 9 January 1914. She scored above 90% in geography, spelling, French, history, and math, with her lowest average in reading at 87%. Even though Elizabeth enjoyed her studies and was relatively content in Atlanta, she missed her island home and longed for the summer when the family would return to St. Helena. On 5 May 1914, she recorded in her journal: "Frogmore—Do you see it? It means that we are here. Here with the blue tide in front and the bright, bright Southern sunshine over everything, here in my land of romance, of moonlight and starlight, and sunshine and shadow." The girls were reunited with their friend Rin Ford. Most days, the girls spent pleasantly in the water, on the beach, or exploring the woods of the island; however, Elizabeth also took time to read and write letters. One letter, she explained in a journal entry of 12 June, she wrote to Booth Tarkington and "asked him to write a book about our disgrace, one that would help the negroes to get justice. I knew he would do it, or rather could do it." She wanted to mail the letter without telling anyone, because "they couldn't understand that I have to help, any way, some way. It was what I was made for." When her mother accidentally discovered the letter, she told Elizabeth "that he would never see it and that she wouldn't write him." Elizabeth immediately "tore it to pieces," and regretted she had been "false to my people."

The family returned to Atlanta in early August, to a new house that Mr. Macdonald had purchased. Elizabeth was pleased with the house, especially the upstairs bedroom she and Margaret shared. "Ours is in a blue and buff and we are to have a blue rug and all our golden oak furniture and I think it will be lovely," she wrote on 5 August. After school started, Elizabeth wrote infrequently in her journal. A week, or month would pass without an entry or, as in the case of her 12 October notation, "I have been very busy during the last two weeks with school, and have had no time to write or do anything thing," only a very general one. She did

have time to record on Thanksgiving Day 1914, "These are the things for which I am thankful: God, Father, Mother, Jack and Roy, Margaret, Rin, Books." One of the reasons that Elizabeth had little time to write in her journal during the fall of 1914 was her responsibility, as reporter for the Washington Seminary, to provide periodic stories for *The Atlanta Constitution's* "School News," a regular Sunday feature that focuses on local schools. Elizabeth produced five columns under her by-line that fall, including one, published on 20 December, that recounted the Christmas party planned for "the mill workers' children" by the freshman girls. "It's worth a lot to see those children when they come in and see the tree and have their stockings given them—the little boys [with] their horns and the little girls cuddle their dolls—and you can scarcely hear yourself think for the noise and general happiness." Another piece of writing that she completed that fall brought Elizabeth a great deal of pleasure and public recognition, as well. In a long journal entry written 15 May 1915, but covering events over a three-month period, she recounted her reaction when she learned that she had won "the U.D.C. medal for the best essay on the causes of the civil war." Both "elated...[and] surprised," she was "very, very proud and happy because my family is so proud of me, but it means something deeper than that," she revealed. "It means that I can write reasonably well even without any particular effort—I put almost none on that—and as I must write, am going to write some time, this is a wonderful thing."

The Macdonalds spent most of the summer of 1915 in Atlanta, except for a few weeks in Tryon, North Carolina, where Mrs. Macdonald and her daughters traveled to escape the heat of August. The end of the summer brought about Mr. Macdonald's departure for Frogmore and a fall and winter managing the Corner Store on St. Helena. Even though he had retired from business before the family moved to Atlanta, he decided to return to work and look after the family's home. Elizabeth recorded in her

journal on 12 September 1915, "Father is gone...We are all very desolate." Her spirit's revived with the routine of school and work, but she continued to be introspective that fall. Her long journal entry of 22 October began with the statement that even though she had "been at the Seminary for two years, and with the exception of Dorothy, I have not a single friend among the girls." The reason, she speculated, was that "they all look upon me as a wonder who is quite too bright to be human. They pity me as one who has no pleasure in life, no natural feelings and absolutely no sympathy with them. I am a study machine." She wanted "to have people like me," she confided, "and I think they would if I could be interested in them." Elizabeth's mood improved considerably, later in the fall, when she met a young man named Bill, "the only boy I have ever been interested in," she wrote. In her entry for Thanksgiving Day, she confided that she was "doing my best to make Bill interested in me and I have to use all my brains and forethought to do it."

Mrs. Macdonald and her daughters left Atlanta after school ended in the spring of 1916 and were in residence at Frogmore by 1 May. Delighted to be back on the island and to rejoin her father, Elizabeth again recorded her thoughts and feelings in her journal on a daily basis, a habit she had stopped in March in the rush of school events. She did mention, in a brief recap of those unwritten occurrences, "there was a literary society started whose first program was in my hands." That society was the Washington Literary Society, an organization that was also important in Margaret Mitchell's literary awakening. While at Frogmore during the summer, Elizabeth learned that her favorite English teacher, Miss Jones, would not return to the Seminary the next year. Elizabeth was deflated by the news since "the only bright spot in the picture was another year's English with Miss Jones...." Without her, Elizabeth noted, "I feel that I have gotten everything out of the Seminary that I can and now I crave to be free to fight for myself."

In August 1917, Elizabeth and Margaret were invited to visit friends at Schroon Lake, New York. The sisters had not been back since 1910, the summer their brother Roy had died there. Elizabeth “had feared to find this place altered, I dreaded it would not be the same—I find it just as I remember, not one stone on the shore disturbed,” she recorded on 25 August. On the trip South, the sisters stopped in Hartford, and Elizabeth recorded in her diary on 24 September: “two months ago I thought I was breaking my heart for Bill and now with him safely cross the ocean[,] I have not only decided to marry another man but [have] fallen in love with two more besides.” At age sixteen, Elizabeth realized, “It’s very discouraging to romance to have to look calmly at such facts, but oh it is such a blessed relief to have my affections divided.”

When Margaret and Elizabeth returned to Frogmore in the fall, they found their father in very poor health. He grew desperately ill and died at Frogmore 19 November 1917, in his sixty-sixth year. His obituary, published in the *Beaufort Gazette*, 23 November, noted:

Mr. Macdonald...was a man who grew in the esteem and confidence of all who knew him[,] both as a business man and a friend. He was noted for his intellectual tastes, philanthropy and friendship, and was a trustee of the Penn Normal and Industrial School and a great factor for good on the Island.

Mr. Macdonald’s funeral was held in Darrah Hall at the Penn School, where, the obituary recorded, “the pupils of the Penn School sang two Spirituals during the services.” Mr. Macdonald’s body, and the funeral party, traveled across the sound to Beaufort in “Mr. McLeod’s yacht,” and then to Saint Helena Episcopal Church yard where Mr. Macdonald was buried beside the grave of his son Roy. “Many beautiful floral offerings attested to the high esteem in which Mr. Macdonald was held by the people of Beaufort,” the newspaper account concluded. Elizabeth noted in her detailed account of the services, in her diary entry of 22 November, the

choir sang “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” and “Don’t You Hear the Lambs A’Callin,” followed by a Bible reading. The family also “sat and talked about finances and plans for living within our income,” Elizabeth recounted. There were discussions about selling Frogmore because of the expense of keeping such a large house in good repair. Elizabeth, however, resisted the idea and wrote in her diary, on 14 January 1918, “I’d rather see Frogmore go unrepaired and unkept than have it sold.” She thought of Frogmore as “a home, and memories don’t degenerate and love doesn’t depreciate like land values.” After a brief stint as a bookkeeper for the company store on St. Helena, Elizabeth went to work at the Penn School as a secretary, even though she could neither type nor take shorthand. In her 7 February diary entry, however, she noted, “I am learning the touch system on the type writer and short-hand out of a book, and I am quite thrilled with both.” She worked with Rossa Cooley and Grace House, the successors to the founders of Penn School, Laura Towne and Ellen Murray. Even though she enjoyed her work, she recorded in her diary on 17 October, “and it feels very nice and natural only I hate being away from home all day.”

The news of the signing of the armistice with Germany was received in Beaufort on 11 November 1918, and Elizabeth commented in her diary, “we may rejoice if we have any heart for rejoicings, and at least be thankful...our beloved [Jack] has been spared to us.” Soon after Jack graduated from Georgia Tech in the class of 1917 with a degree in mechanical engineering, he joined the army and accepted a commission as a second lieutenant in the ordinance department, an assignment that the family hoped would keep him in the United States. However, he had been sent to France, but much to his chagrin, had not been in combat. The first direct news from Jack after the armistice came in three letters that arrived on 26 November. Elizabeth recorded his sentiments: “Poor darling boy; he says he is at last resigned to having the end of the war find him at

his old post behind the lines—rather an inglorious way to have fought the great war...” Jack arrived in the United States on 10 March 1919, and on 7 April finally appeared at Frogmore, to the delight of his family. Jack remained on the island through the summer of 1919. He courted and then married, on 12 October 1920 in Atlanta, Elizabeth’s and Margaret’s friend, Antonina Jones Hansell (1898–1987) and returned to Frogmore with his bride that fall. Margaret had left Frogmore in September 1919 for Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she began nurses’ training at Cambridge Hospital. She remained there, with a few holiday trips back to South Carolina, until she graduated in October 1922.

In October 1921, after Elizabeth had returned to work at the Penn School following a summer away, a visitor, who would change her life in a matter of weeks, stopped by. She recorded their first encounter in her journal under the date, Thursday, 27 October. “There are three English visitors at the School—an official and his wife from the gold coast, and a young Londoner who is going out to Africa as a missionary.” Obviously attracted to the young man, she described him in detail: “He is a red-gold youth of wonderful physique and smiling blue eyes...He’s extremely Scotch looking, and I like the way he looks enormously. Wish he was going to stay longer.” The next day, Elizabeth noted, “Mr. [Edward Francis (Ted)] Wilkinson walked home with me tonight and I like him even better.” Wilkinson visited Elizabeth at her home again on Sunday afternoon, 30 October and, she recorded, “we talked about everything and laughed a great deal and liked each other a lot.” Unfortunately, in Elizabeth’s view, Mr. Wilkinson was scheduled to leave the next morning to resume his tour of black educational institutions in the South. “We won’t be friends after all; I’m sorry, for I’d like to have him for a friend,” she recorded. After Wilkinson left St. Helena, Elizabeth made a hurried trip to Atlanta with Grace House and Rossa Cooley. There she spent time with her mother, who was working in the city during November, and apparently also had dinner with

Mr. Wilkinson. After she returned to Frogmore, she expected a letter from him, “because he liked me very much, unless I have deceived myself, but so far he has not written to me,” she recorded on 11 November. A week later, on 18 November, she noted that the anticipated letter from Mr. Wilkinson had arrived. “I had thought he wasn’t going to write,” she confided, “I am so glad he did.” Elizabeth responded to his letter, and others followed. She wrote from Frogmore Manor, on 27 November, a letter that conveyed her serious interest in the young Englishman. “Of course I care to keep in touch with a passing visitor—at least with a visitor passing on his way to Africa,” she replied to a question of his. In response to his description of his visit to Hampton Institute in Virginia, Elizabeth wrote, “I’m glad you liked Hampton...I’m gladder, of course, that you liked Penn. I’ve worked there for four years, and one’s heart gets more or less bound up in a place like that—so that you like people to admire it!” In the meantime, Margaret had arrived at Frogmore from Cambridge and Mrs. Macdonald had returned from Atlanta. But the most welcomed guest that December was Mr. Wilkinson, who had informed Elizabeth that he had changed his travel plans and would return to St. Helena before sailing for England at the end of the month. After receiving the news, Elizabeth posed the question, in her diary entry for 1 December, “Do you suppose he likes me?”

Mr. Wilkinson arrived on the island on Monday, 5 December and, less than a week later, on Sunday, 11 December, Elizabeth exclaimed in her diary, “the unbelievable, the impossible, the beautiful thing has happened—he loves me.” Before he left St. Helena on 13 December, he and Elizabeth, or Betty as she began to sign her letters to him, had made tentative plans for a life together. After his departure, “there will be three months of letters. In March I’ll go to England and stay with his family until he leaves for Africa in May...Then I’ll come back and have next winter here, and we’ll be married the following summer probably,” she wrote in

her entry for 11 December. In the days before her scheduled departure for England, however, Betty experienced episodes of doubt about her love for Ted. There were moments, as she confided in her diary entry for 22 February, “when I don’t want it—don’t want it at all. I was cold in his arms that night. He just didn’t matter to me. It was so different with Bill.” The next day, she wrote, “I’m not sure that I do love Ted, but I’m perfectly sure that I shall.” She had also written in her diary entry of 19 January, “I think when I come back from England I shall have married...[Ted.]” The journey to meet her intended began with a train trip to New York where mother and daughter arrived Sunday afternoon, 5 March. They discovered that their ship, the S.S. *Saxonia*, originally scheduled to sail for Plymouth, England, on 7 March, would not depart until the 11th.

The S.S. *Saxonia* docked in Plymouth the morning of 23 March and Mrs. Macdonald, in her diary entry for that day, observed, “Francis was on the dock & E had eyes for nothing else.” Betty abandoned her diary for a week after landing in England, but when she resumed her entries on 28 March, she was ecstatic: “I didn’t know one could be happy like this. I didn’t know that just the touch of a hand could mean delight.” Her happiness, however, was tempered by her fear that Ted would not agree to marry before he left for Africa. In her entry of 31 March, she recorded, “I did ask him to marry me now, and he did refuse, but I still hope....” She spent her days visiting local attractions and Ted’s relatives and friends in Nottingham. The couple spent a week in London, in early April, where members of the Church Missionary Society’s medical board interviewed Betty. She noted in her diary entry of 7 April, “Today the C.M.S. Medical Board passed me for West Africa, and so there’s nothing more to wait for, and I am engaged.” On Easter Sunday, she wrote, “we’ve talked the marriage all out again, with the result that we are applying to C.M.S. for permission to marry before Ted sails for Africa.” Ted had agreed that he



would not marry for a year after his appointment as a missionary, but the C.M.S. board could approve the marriage, even though Betty, at age 21, could still not accompany her husband to Africa because she did not meet the minimum age requirement of 23. "It was settled by a letter from C.M.S. this morning," she recorded on 21 April, "I am to be married." She added: "And I am still wondering how I feel." One source of her uncertainty was that the wedding would be performed without her brother and sister there to witness her marriage. "It won't hurt Jack and Margaret, will it?" she questioned. "I know Margaret will understand; I pray that Jack will." Five days later, all the plans for the wedding, set for Tuesday, 9 May, were in place. Both mother and daughter described Betty's wedding day in their respective journals. In her entry for 9 May, Mrs. Macdonald described the dress in glowing terms: "I had pressed & we'd altered her white embroidered net and she wore the Liberty scarf Rossa [Cooley] & Grace [House] brought her from Paris for a wedding veil. She wore white roses—and looks exquisitely lovely." Betty, however, was not as impressed: "I didn't like my wedding dress as much as I had when I tried it on before, and it seemed tremendously important that I should look beautiful, and I didn't, being too pale; and I became quite irritated over it." After Mrs. Macdonald gave "the bride away," she sat down and listened as Mr. [David H.D.] Wilkinson, the father of the groom, "gave a most impressive talk." "The service was lovely," she continued, "F[rancis] & E[lizabeth] making their responses in clearest tones." Betty remembered, "in the middle of the ceremony something inside of me suddenly remarked in a surprised accent, 'you know this isn't a play you are in; it's for all your life. You are going to belong to that big strange man beside you forever.'" After a brief wedding trip to Southwell, the couple returned to Nottingham, where, on 16 May, Betty recorded, "I've been married one week today...and I am happier than I've ever been happy before." Her happiness was tempered with the realization that her husband would sail

for Africa on 24 May and would not return for almost two years. When Betty returned from Liverpool after seeing Ted off, her mother recorded, she “looks so drawn & weary but is bravely smiling.” After the first letters began to arrive from Ted, Betty’s spirits lifted. “This morning I had a letter from my husband,” she noted in her diary on 27 June, “and I am feeling very happy about life in consequence.”

Ted arrived in Awka, the site of the C.M.S. college and the place he would spend his first missionary tour, on 17 July and described the landscape in his next letter to Betty: “you will love this spot, dearest. It is so pretty, the country is fairly open & falls away from the bungalow to a valley & gentle hills so that we have a view of a mile or more.” He also noted the condition of the college. “There is a good block of concrete buildings with rooms for ten students, two classrooms & space for ten more which are not yet built, the remainder of the thirty students are in mud houses in varying degrees of collapse.” In a letter of 20 July to Betty, he described his first walk through Awka. “Can you imagine a town with no streets & roads? It is just built in the bush, with the taller trees left standing & the undergrowth cut away. People have put up compounds where they like, so the little sandy paths twist & turn between these mud walls every few yards. Through open doors you get glimpses of a courtyard with verandahs round it on which the people live, and here & there the paths lead into open sandy places which are used for markets.” On his first Sunday at Awka, he visited the local church and had a chance to observe the people. He described the scene in a letter to Betty written the same evening, 23 July. He sat in the church, “of mud & mats... surrounded by people of all shapes & sizes from children sitting on the floor in loin cloths or less, to men in brown boots & creased trousers & women smothered in gorgeous wraps & cloths & handkerchiefs.” On the following Tuesday, he wrote Betty about his busy schedule which precluded the longer letters that he wanted to write, “but there is no chance, lectures & language *must*

be done.” Other necessary activities also absorbed his time. “And now I’m off to kick about a football with the boys,” he informed Betty. “I consider that one of my most important pieces of missionary work, for they have little idea of sportsmanship. And it keeps me fit.”

While Ted settled into his life in Awka, Betty was nearing the end of her five-month sojourn in England. She spent her last weeks with Ted’s parents in Derbyshire, tramping through the moors, enthralled, as she noted in her diary entry for 15 August 1922, by “the glint of golden grass bending before the wind, and the purple shadow of the heather spreading over the black ground and the black rocks.” She was accompanied to Southampton by Ted’s mother, and after parting from her mother-in-law, “a heart sickening business, saying goodbye,” she boarded the Cunard liner, R.M.S. *Aquitania*, and sailed out to sea “with the sun shining out of the mist on the blue waters and green shores of the channel,” as she wrote to Ted on 2 September. The ship docked in New York on 8 September and Betty was reunited with her mother who had returned from England in late June. From New York, the two traveled to Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, just outside Philadelphia, where they visited with one of Mrs. Macdonald’s brothers. Visits to other relatives in Wilmington, Delaware, Philadelphia, and Hartford, Connecticut, occupied the remainder of September. She reported in a 30 September letter, written to Ted from Hartford, “yes, darling I am back with my own people. Hardly the same ‘Betty,’ because no one over here except Rossa and Grace knows me as Betty—but very much the same Elizabeth.” Her introspective nature also resurfaced after a month of constant socializing. “Life is still a good deal of an experiment to me, but the experiments are bound to give rise to conclusions as I grow up more,” she speculated. “Just at present I am trying to get all the light I can, and trusting that God will lead me to conclusions that are true enough and deep enough to make me of some use in the world.”

On 3 October she was reunited with her sister Margaret in Cambridge,

Massachusetts. Margaret “was standing at the gate as I came through and for a moment there was an almost unbearable shock of joy—but now it seems as though we had never been separated. There’s just the perfect contentment and happiness of being together, with a little keener edge of enjoyment because there are so many exciting things to talk about,” Betty wrote her husband on 4 October. And for the rest of the month, the sisters enjoyed the time they could spend together when Margaret was not on duty at the hospital. Betty always found time to write long letters to Ted, with detailed descriptions of her activities. She also gently reprimanded her husband for some of the terms of endearment he used in his letters. Under date of 19 October, Betty informed Ted, “I wish I had a mind above music-hall associations, but I can’t help disliking the name of ‘wifey’ because it is used over here in all the vulgar burlesques of married life—just as ‘Dearie’ in America is an appellation sacred to shop girls and avoided by everyone else.” The reason for remaining in Cambridge for the entire month, rather than returning home to Frogmore, was Margaret’s graduation from her nurses training program which was scheduled for 31 October. Betty described the event in a letter to Ted dated 2 November. “She looked so beautiful in her pure white uniform. Never, even in her eighteen-year-old days when it made you catch your breath to look at her, have I seen her so lovely. I was proud and happy and miserable all at once....” The evening before leaving Cambridge for home, Betty spent time with Margaret in her room “while she sorted out and destroyed a three years collection of letters. They represented a three year’s collection of lovers, and it was rather like digging up all too recent graves.”

The sisters left Boston by train, spent the night in New York, and then sailed the next day for Charleston aboard a Clyde Line steamer. Two days later, they were in Charleston. Another, shorter, train ride brought them to Beaufort, and then Frogmore Manor. Once back home, Betty wrote in a 7 November letter to her husband, “I never want to go away again.” She was

thrilled by “the lovely stillness of it—the tranquil, sunlit trees, the brown and golden grass, more beautiful to me than English green!” Much had changed during the eight months she had been away. Mrs. Macdonald had brightened the house with new paint and wallpaper, so that it looked “really lived in;” Jack had a job working at the store his father had previously run; and Nina and Jack were expecting their first child in the spring. Betty quickly settled into the busy lifestyle she had known before her marriage and discovered that she was left with little time to write to Ted. She lamented, in her 22 November letter to him, “gone are the days when I could write to you every night, and have a respectable letter ready to send off by the end of each week.” Nevertheless, she did make time to continue writing her informative letters. Elizabeth no longer worked at the Penn School, but she did take on one of the responsibilities that Grace House had previously handled. Elizabeth and Margaret agreed to jointly run the Red Cross drive on St. Helena Island. “It’s the sort of work I loathe in prospect,” she related to Ted, “although the actual doing of it is not so bad.” She spoke at church meetings and also visited one Sunday evening “the little Frogmore ‘Praise House’ where the plantation people meet to pray and sing together. It is a tiny one-room shack with no windows, and lighted only by the flame of a chimney-less lamp. About thirty people sat about in the shadows, joining their voices to the songs and prayers of the leader. When the meeting was over, I spoke about the work of the Red Cross....It was astonishing how moved they were...and they took up a collection of five dollars....” This work, Elizabeth confessed, caused her “to feel like a cross between a political ‘orator’ and a side-walk beggar with a little of the robber-of widows-and-orphans thrown in...for these people do seem very poor to demand money of.” Elizabeth also related another dimension of life in Beaufort County, Jack’s service on the local jury in early December. The tales Jack “brings home are remarkable,” she

related to Ted in a letter written 6 December. "There are seven murder cases on trial in this one term of court., as none of the murders were those of a Negro killing a white man, there were no convictions," she explained. "The courts don't bother to convict a Negro for killing a Negro....We have good lawyers in this country, but a very small modicum of justice."

In brief, Ted spent the first nine months of his time in Awka learning the details of the Church Missionary Society's work, studying the language of the Igbo people, and getting to know the Europeans who staffed the schools and hospitals in the vicinity of Onitsha, an important town on the Niger River about twenty-three miles from Awka. Ted became acting principal of the school when the long-time head, George T. Basden, began a furlough to England in March 1923. Basden had been in the area since 1900 and had written a book about his experiences, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria* (London, 1921), but was viewed as arbitrary and dictatorial by some of those, Ted included, who worked with him. In a letter to Betty, written 16 March 1923, Ted speculated about his own place at the school. "I wonder sometimes whether it is to be my job right through life to clear the ground for other people to work. It was so in India [with the YMCA] I got the Lion's share of organization & office work, the general machinery for keeping things going; others because of that were freer to be among the soldiers & to meet with them personally....It is becoming the same here...But it is out of accord with my ideas on what a young missionary should be aiming at." Immediately after Basden left, Ted moved into his vacated quarters, which he found to have "more space, more air, more coolness." As acting principal of the Awka Training School, Ted had primary responsibility for setting educational policy, organizing instructions, developing the curriculum, and lecturing on several academic subjects, including geography. He also delivered sermons, refereed football games, ministered to the medical needs of his students and the

local villagers, wrote periodic reports for the C.M.S., visited neighboring schools, and performed a multitude of other tasks. When a friend suggested that he take a month's holiday from his work, Ted ridiculed the notion, in writing to Betty on 9 May, by asking, "what English schoolmaster can take a month off when the spirit moves him[?] Who would run the school & take all my lectures?" On 24 July 1923, Ted wrote Betty, "at last I have some definite news; my furlough has been sanctioned to be by the end of Jan. [1924]." That would mean, Ted continued, that he would meet Betty in England in late February, and they would then spend the next six months together before both sailed for Africa at the end of the summer. After being in Awka for more than a year, Ted's letters to Betty were still posted at regular intervals but, as he mentioned in his letter of 30 July, "I know you would think that I am getting careless about writing now that my letters are so short & empty." The reason, he explained, was "there seems nothing left to say or to describe to you & there is little time for thinking."

Betty's plans to meet Ted in England upon his return from Nigeria were finalized by the end of the year. For one so closely connected to her family, and St. Helena Island and its people, leaving was an emotionally wrenching process for Elizabeth. She had already faced the disruption of her close-knit family when Jack and Nina and their infant son, James Ross Macdonald, born 27 February 1923, a second "Roy," moved from Frogmore Manor to Savannah, Georgia, in June 1923. About the same time, Margaret left for Columbia, South Carolina, to take the state-mandated nurses exams and to work temporarily as a district nurse with the state welfare department. Elizabeth realized that the departure of her siblings and her own future life in Africa brought an end to a lifestyle that she valued tremendously. In her diary entry of 3 June 1923, Elizabeth noted with nostalgia, "we've had our last day of living here together." Even though she enjoyed her remaining time on St. Helena, she looked toward her new life with great excitement. In a letter to her mother, written 1

February 1924, as she began her trip to meet her husband, Elizabeth expressed her hope that “the new world is going to be beautiful..., and interesting, and wildly exciting. I’ll write you about it every day and tell you all my adventures, and all my discoveries.” True to her promise, Elizabeth peppered her mother with daily installments detailing her trip by train to Wilmington and Philadelphia, stopping with relatives in each place, before she reached New York on 7 February. She sailed two days later on board a Cunard liner, the R.M.S. *Tyrrhenia*, bound for Liverpool. She described her departure in a letter to her family, written at sea, on 16 February. Her friends accompanied her to the dock, “but I just couldn’t do the proper thing and watch America out of sight; I dove into my room as soon as the gong sounded, and didn’t come up again until every scrap of land was gone.” Ted was waiting on the dock in Liverpool when the ship dropped anchor in the harbor on Monday, 18 February. “As soon as I got my hand into his and heard his nice deep voice, the world stopped spinning and settled quietly into place with a sigh of contentment. It has been there ever since,” she wrote from New Barnet, a small town north of London where Ted’s parents lived in their new home, Carlton House.

During the spring and summer of 1924, Betty and Ted prepared for their trip to Africa, this time together. When they were not buying supplies or seeing friends and relatives, the young couple often visited sites that Betty had missed during her previous trip. In a letter to her mother dated 1 April, she described the Tower of London and its treasures in intricate detail, with half a page devoted to the crown jewels. Elizabeth was also taken with the view from the walls: “You look up and down the river, spanned by the lovely Tower Bridge, and London looks like a fairy city wrapped in sun-guided mist.” On the same day, she and Ted, along with his parents, attended a reception at the Church Missionary Society House. Sir Robert Williams, the society’s president and “a very pleasant elderly baronet,” greeted them warmly. She also met Bishop Lasbrey, just back from



Nigeria, and a man she “liked immensely.” Ted “gleaned a lot of information about Awka and Onitsha affairs from the bishop, including the probability of “Basden’s with-drawal from the college pretty soon after we get out there.” Others she met from the area included “the two West Indian clergy from the Awka district” who were “on their way back to Jamaica and don’t expect to be out again, for which I am sorry.”

Elizabeth and Ted sailed from Liverpool for Africa on the R.M.S. *Alba* on 20 August. In a letter to her mother written that afternoon, Elizabeth explained her feelings as she departed England for her new life with her husband. “The confines of English conventional ideas of life have galled me at every turn, and I can’t help a sigh of relief as I turn my back on them,” she confessed. “I’m thrilled to be beginning a life of my own, and the voyage always seems delightful to me, and it is rather wonderful to be quite off by myself with Ted.” Elizabeth first view of Africa was the desolate coast of Cape Verde and she first set foot on the continent in Sierra Leone where the ship dropped off passengers at Freetown. Elizabeth was charmed by “the small steep unbelievably green hills rising directly from the shore and piled up one behind another against the sky.” “They are all covered with dense green undergrowth,” she wrote in a letter to her family on 30 August, “with tall palms rising out of it, and great glorious trees—cottonwoods I think, growing near the water.” She and Ted went ashore where they traveled through the center of Freetown in a rickshaw, from which they “could see everything as we went along.” “In a way it was not unlike the negro quarter in Beaufort or Charleston, only intensified by the brilliance of the vegetation, the sun, and the clothing of the people....The houses are built of wood, quite like the ones at home, only much more open, and in front of nearly all were stalls displaying little collections of merchandise for sale.” The Wilkinsons reached the port of Lagos, Nigeria, on 4 September, and Elizabeth described what she saw:

“Lagos Town is built like Beaufort on the curve of the river, and the European houses on the bay are very much like those in Beaufort, except that instead of open verandas they have jalousies—wooden shutters that let in the air and keep out the sun.” Elizabeth and Ted were driven from the dock to the Church Missionary Society’s walled compound that overlooked the waterfront and included the bishop’s house, a girls’ school and book shop. There they rested and prepared for the next stage in their trip to Awka. From Lagos they sailed in a coastal steamer to Port Harcourt where they found lodging in the C.M.S. bookshop. A train trip of forty miles brought the missionaries, and their boxes and trunks, to the village of Aba where they found their automobile, bought and used in England and then shipped to Nigeria, waiting for them. “The first sixty miles was flat but not swampy,” Elizabeth noted, “tho a good deal of the road was under water from the rains. We averaged about twenty miles an hour, tho we’d been led to expect bad roads for the first forty miles, so you can imagine that they did not seem bad to a South Carolinian.” The two reached Onitsha that night and stayed in the house of the local archdeacon. The final leg of their journey was delayed for a few days by a leaking car radiator, but on Tuesday 16 September, Elizabeth and Ted reached Awka. “We are here at last,” she wrote. “The college compound is really lovely. There are even lawns, the first I’ve seen in Africa, and beautiful trees planted in groups and avenues. This gives the place an astonishingly civilized expression. The students were all drawn up to greet us when we arrived and all day[,] while we were working at our own house[,] people came trooping in to bid us welcome. I like my house and I like Awka.” Elizabeth spent much of her time the first few days “giving demonstrations of dishwashing, dusting, laying the table and serving” to the three “houseboys,” Theo, Godfrey, and David, employed by the Wilkinsons. She described the daily routine in a letter written 21 September: Godfrey and David “sweep the verandah and living-room and set them in order while we are dressing, and while Theo

prepares coffee. When we emerge coffee is laid on the verandah—toast, marmalade, coffee and fruit. While we eat the beds are made, the bathroom and dressing-room put in order, and a supply of water for the day is brought.” Titus, she discovered “is a very capable cook as far as I have tested him. He makes good bread and cake, cooks chicken well, and makes good gravy and soups.” During the time she was not attending to the household, Elizabeth explored her surroundings, gradually venturing away from the college compound. She described her first walk, with Ted, through the native town that adjoined the college grounds: “[we] treaded our way between the great grey shafts of mahogany and irroco trees, and along walls covered with thatch, marking out the compounds. In some compounds the tom-tom throbbed and throbbed. Naked or nearly naked villagers passed us with a low word of greeting, and quick curious glances at me, the new white ‘Ma.’” Exploration on her own, however, was limited because she did not yet know enough of the local language to communicate with the people she encountered. She found the same difficulty when she attended church services. She and Ted attended the Sunday morning service at the Awka church soon after they arrived. “The pews were mud benches built up about a foot and a half from the floor, and polished like glass,” she observed. “The singing was soft and very nice; all English music, of course, though the words were in Ibo.”

The South Carolina Macdonalds—Clare, Jack and Margaret—had many projects and interests to consume their time and energy during the summer and fall of 1925. With both Elizabeth and Jack married and no longer living at Frogmore Manor, Margaret and her mother decided to turn their home into a guesthouse for visitors who wanted to enjoy St. Helena’s mild winter weather, or for medical reasons needed a place to recuperate. Margaret, as a trained nurse, would be able to tend to the health needs of visitors. But before they could accept paying visitors, Frogmore Manor would have to be renovated. That project dominated life at Frogmore from

June until November. "We are making two bath rooms of the one large one, and putting one in on the third floor & one in the laundry," Clare Macdonald informed Elizabeth in a 16 June letter that described the plans and progress. "The attic is being wall-boarded and there is to be a New Majestic Range in the kitchen and a new kitchen chimney is being built. Also, the entire plumbing system has to be changed." Fortunately, Jack was able to spend the summer at Frogmore helping his mother with house renovations. His wife, Nina, and young son Ross were also at Frogmore for much of the summer, thus giving Mrs. Macdonald ample time to enjoy being with her first grandchild. Jack was between jobs, having decided to withdraw from an advertising firm in Savannah that he and several friends had formed six months earlier. After he was mustered out of the army at the end of the World War, he had been involved in several unsuccessful ventures, including a tire repair business in Beaufort and a car rental agency in Savannah. In the summer of 1925, according to his mother, he was considering reentering the regular army, after having spent several months on assignment as a reserve army officer. But, for the next few months, he focused his attention on the work at hand. "My new wind-mill is now working fine," Clare wrote Elizabeth on 17 July, "tho Jack had to take it all to pieces again after installation because of a defect in the gear. I was troubled about it—that we'd never get water. Now the tank runs over every day & it turns in the gentlest breeze," she happily concluded. She described her own routine in a 31 July letter to Elizabeth: "I cook, preserve, mix paints to get the right colors, and am at every one's beck & call and nearly run my legs off, but thrive on it all." The work was expensive and Mrs. Macdonald borrowed money to pay for it, but in a letter written to Elizabeth on 8 August, she remarked, "the cost of renovating & repairing is coming within the \$2000 I allowed for it, so I should not grumble...." Even before the final painting and polishing was underway, she was busily soliciting customers for the new venture. She related her efforts to

Elizabeth in a letter of 28 August, in response to a question about “prospects for patients.” “We have 18 physicians who know us to whom we’ll send booklets...with personal letters.” She, Margaret, and Jack had produced the text and provided photographs for a promotional booklet and the State Company printed 200 copies at a cost of \$70. After the booklets arrived in late August, she began to distribute them to prospective visitors and also asked friends, especially those associated with Penn School, “to give us a good word with their friends.” “I have sent out 45 booklets, ½ with personal letters,” she informed Elizabeth in early September. She also believed “the coming of the bridge will make this place much more accessible.” The new bridge, then under construction, would connect St. Helena Island to Beaufort and would eliminate the reliance on the boats and flats that had previously ferried people and automobiles to and from town. With the bridge approaching completion, Mrs. Macdonald had appealed to the Beaufort County Commissioners for help in improving the roads on the island. She also appeared before the county grand jury, the St. Helena Island Road Committee, and the local civic club, for the same reason. She saw herself as a “Gadfly” in the cause and assured Elizabeth in a letter of 4 February 1925, “I am leaving no stone unturned.” Her pleas brought the desired result and some of the island roads were graded and repaired during the following summer. The bridge, however, was not ready for use until the next year. By the middle of December, Mrs. Macdonald was concerned about the lack of response from prospective visitors. She wrote Elizabeth, “everything is shining & expectant but paying guests do not appear. I am afraid our prices frighten them....”

Elizabeth and Ted were scheduled to begin a furlough from their work in Awka in 1926. Both wanted children, but were not willing for Elizabeth to endure a pregnancy and the birth of a child in Awka where medical facilities were problematic, so Elizabeth hoped to time her child’s birth to coincide with her return to America. Elizabeth had explained her plan in a

letter that her mother received in November 1925. "We are all so excited over your letter which came last night," Mrs. Macdonald replied. "The possibility of your coming home in April makes me breathless with joy. It frightens me tho for you to count so surely on the baby." Elizabeth's plans evolved during the winter and she shared her options with her family. She suggested in a December letter, received in late January, that Ted's furlough might start as early as April. Clara responded that such an early beginning would mean that her own hope for Christmas 1926 with all the Wilkinsons—Elizabeth, Ted, and Ted's parents, David and Mary—at Frogmore would not be possible. Because the correspondence file does not contain any letters written between February and August 1926, the sequence of events that brought Elizabeth, pregnant, to America is unclear; however, she did sail, alone, on the S.S. *Andania* from Southampton on 7 May and reached New York ten days later. She expected Ted and his parents to join her at Frogmore in September in time for the baby's birth in October. While on her way back to Frogmore, after a trip to Greenville, she and her mother stopped with friends in Columbia, where, as she wrote her husband on 1 September, she awoke that morning to discover definite signs that the baby was on the way. "I am not frightened and I haven't had any pain yet, but I'm so excited that my hand trembles and I can't write very well..." She had called a local physician, Dr. Jane Bruce Guignard, a gynecologist, who "thinks it a good thing as I am so small, that our child is to be an eight months [baby]." She concluded her message to Ted on a confident note: "Everything is going to be well, but if I should die by mistake, you know I love you and that life has been beautiful and worthwhile." In a continuation of the letter, penned on 5 September, she began with "our little girl was three days old this morning." Elizabeth assured Ted that their daughter, christened Margaret Clare, who weighed only 4 lbs., 4 oz. at birth, was "perfect and strong in spite of her minute size." She also informed Ted that she, the baby, and her sister

Margaret, would remain in Columbia awaiting Ted's arrival; her mother had already returned to Frogmore to get the house in shape for the time when the entire family, including Ted's parents, would be in residence. In a letter to her son-in-law, written 9 September, Mrs. Macdonald described her granddaughter: "Such a love of a baby. She has soft dark hair and dark eyes and rose leaf skin and lovely features—but is so tiny that I felt as tho I was looking at her thru the wrong end of a magnifying glass."

Ted and his parents arrived in New York aboard the S.S. *Laconia* on 14 September, after a ten-day passage from Liverpool. Ted hurried to Columbia to be with his wife and infant daughter, but the senior Wilkinsons may have taken a side trip or two before joining the rest of the family on St. Helena Island. The parents had hoped to see Niagara Falls before heading south and also wanted to stop by Hampton Institute in Norfolk, Virginia, on the way. It is certain that the Wilkinsons spent the fall at Frogmore and were also able to enjoy Christmas there before beginning their journey back to England. Elizabeth wrote Ted on 25 January 1927, the day after he and his parents had departed by train, with news of their daughter's activities. "Our little girl is sitting in mother's arms talking and listening by turns....She is lovely beyond any words I know." Two days later, Elizabeth explained to Ted, "each time I write to you I realize more fully what a difference your time here has made to me. I can write about all sorts of little things now and know you will understand without explanation." The Wilkinsons visited with Mrs. Macdonald's Pennsylvania relatives before traveling to New York where they sailed for England. Elizabeth continued to post frequent, detailed letters of her days at Frogmore, their daughter's accomplishments—crawling, sitting up, her first two teeth—and included accounts of her own activities. Letters from Ted from this period are not extant, but letters from his parents to him are present.

Elizabeth sailed alone from New York for England on 23 July 1927

aboard the S.S. *Baltic*. Her mother and baby had traveled as far as Philadelphia with Elizabeth, but they remained there. "I can't write about leaving Clare," she informed Ted, "but you will help me to tell you when we are together." Ted's mother-in-law wrote a letter to him, on 30 July, describing the pain of separation from Elizabeth. "You know what a sad day it was for us when she said good-bye. It was heartbreaking to think of the dear baby left behind. However courage always comes for necessary trials." After describing the baby's "pretty ways," Mrs. Macdonald acknowledged, "it is too sad for you to miss all these stages."

Elizabeth reached Liverpool on 1 August and was met by Mary Wilkinson, her mother-in-law. She remained in England for a fortnight, visiting friends, reading Ted's recent letters to his parents, and making preparations for the next segment of her journey. She sailed for Lagos on 10 August from Liverpool, but because her letters are not present—only ones from her mother and sister to her survive—it is difficult to chronicle her experiences, or Ted's, after they were reunited in Nigeria. In fact, there are no letters from Elizabeth in the collection until one dated 18 October 1930, written on board the R.M.S. *Accra* en route to England. From the comments written in response to Elizabeth's letters, contained in letters Margaret and her mother wrote, it is clear that Ted and Elizabeth were living in Onitsha instead of Awka. Ted was no longer associated with the college, but traveled about inspecting grammar schools in the district. Mrs. Macdonald responded to Elizabeth's first letter from Nigeria, written from Port Harcourt, in her letter, dated 5 October, in which she expressed her pleasure "that you are to live with the Bishop and not Dr. Basden, and that Francis feels that his work is shaping well..." She also wrote, "I know you'd much prefer Awka & perhaps you'll be back there soon." David Wilkinson, in a letter to his son and daughter-in-law written 25 September, confirmed that the letters from Nigeria were much like the ones previously received. "We rejoice over all the details you give us of the scenery, the



people, the house, the daily doings, etc.," he remarked. "I am so glad that the house is beginning to look nice at Onitsha, though I am sorry you are not in your own little den at Awka."

The fulsome letters from the American Macdonalds and the English Wilkinsons are in marked contrast to the total absence of correspondence from Nigeria in 1927 and 1928. The letters from Frogmore to Elizabeth during the fall focused on Margaret Clare's activities but also included a recitation of the daily comings and goings of the other residents. Mrs. Macdonald delighted in reporting Margaret Clare's cute ways. She also frequently mentioned the visits of Ed Sanders, a young man who worked on his family's farm on St. Helena Island, to see Margaret. Edward Gibson Sanders (1903–1977) was the son of Gustavas Beauregard Sanders (1869–1950) and his wife, Bessie Gibson Sanders (1873–1947), who lived in Beaufort. Margaret explained to Elizabeth, in a letter written 10 November 1927, the nature of the relationship: "You probably know from mother of Ed's constant and touching devotion....I have told him of course that there is no hope at all, but he says he never knew happiness until he loved me and that nothing can stop that love." She was wary of the age difference; she was 28, he was 24, but she appreciated his willingness to help around Frogmore. Ed has been "doing joyfully all the mans jobs about Frogmore, waiting on mother, minding Margaret Clare and filling in anywhere he's let." The romance with Ed was interrupted briefly when Margaret had an attack of appendicitis in early November and spent two weeks in Savannah recovering from the resulting operation.

During the summer of 1928, Mrs. Macdonald had, unexpectedly, received a check for \$5,000 from her brother Jacob "as a present on his birthday for me," she informed Elizabeth in a letter written 11 July. "I've been quite weak ever since it came, I feel dazed but happy," she continued. For Margaret, the real joy of the gift was the security the money provided for the next year. "It's just the grandest feeling to have some

money ahead for necessary painting on Frogmore, rugs that are a crying need and to live on next fall with the luxury of hoping that people won't come early to disturb us," she confessed in her letter to Elizabeth written 22 July. Even more exciting for the Macdonalds than the \$5,000 check was Elizabeth's anticipated arrival in America in the fall. Throughout the spring and early summer, the letters from Clare and Margaret to Elizabeth had mentioned Elizabeth's plan to have a second child. Margaret, in spite of her eagerness to see her sister, had written several cautionary letters that apparently had sparked a strong response from Elizabeth. Margaret's 9 July reply to a letter from Elizabeth began with, "I am deeply glad, and yet more sad than I can say over your letter." She continued: "Of course you know that I wouldn't have written as I did if I had not felt very strongly that for you to travel back and forth across the ocean so many times, pregnant and with young children[,] would be killingly hard on both you and the babies." Margaret also remarked on her rocky relationship with Ted. She admitted that she "could not seem to climb over the barrier of antagonism & alien blood and learn to be friends" with him. "Of course I knew that my feelings about Ted hurt you greatly, but it is hard to face your hurt, put into written words." Her estrangement from Ted, however, failed to diminish her eagerness for Elizabeth's return to Frogmore. "Oh dearest one," she wrote on 4 October, "I still can't believe such great joy is near, but my heart lifts and there is a feeling of hope renewed each day that brings you closer." The nearness of her fiancée also contributed to Margaret's happiness. "Ed is staying here, painting radiators, re-puttying windows, laying linoleum, fixing wind-mill and Delco, supervising the work of redoing the drawing room and dining room, running errands and minding Margaret Clare," she recounted. As the time approached for Elizabeth's arrival, Margaret and her mother both expressed their excitement in letters designed to greet the traveler upon her arrival in New York. "Hurry, Hurry, home to us for we just can't wait much longer,"

Margaret exclaimed on 23 October; "My heart is a flutter with anticipation and my arms ache to hold you," her mother wrote Elizabeth on 22 October. Elizabeth's ship, the S.S. *Berengaria*, docked in New York on 26 October, after a very quick passage of six days from Southampton, and Elizabeth immediately entrained for Beaufort where she was expected to arrive the next day. Once Elizabeth was at Frogmore, the family correspondence ceased. Even letters to or from her husband are lacking in the collection for this period. Two important events did occur, however, during her sojourn in America. The first occurred on 24 November, when Margaret and Ed "were quietly married at Frogmore Manor, the home of the bride's mother," and was reported by the *Beaufort Gazette* in the 29 November issue. Only the immediate family of the bride and groom, along with a few close friends, attended. "Two-year old Margaret Clare Wilkinson, looking like a chubby apple blossom in a frock of pale blue crepe de chine, was her aunt's only attendant," the article reported. The couple "left by motor at 4:30 for a short tour in Florida."

The second event was the birth of Elizabeth and Ted's second child, a daughter named Elizabeth Mary, in Savannah, Georgia, on 27 March 1929. Ted joined his wife and two daughters in America, and the entire family sailed for London in mid-May, six weeks after Mary's birth. They arrived in England on 26 May, and remained there during the summer. Margaret, in a letter written at the time of her sister's departure in mid-May, thanked Elizabeth for entrusting her daughter to her and her mother for the previous two and a half years. "Never think darling that the pain of parting with Margaret Clare in any way mars the joy of having had her to adore all her blessed little life. You gave me the greatest gift that any living soul could give another, and I have gloated over every minute of her sweetness, except for the pain of knowing you were missing it." For Mrs. Macdonald, the separation from her daughter and granddaughters would be short, for she planned to visit them in England that summer. Only three

letters from the summer of 1929 survive in the collection and those were written to Elizabeth by Margaret who does mention, in one of them, that her mother would begin her trip north on 4 July and then sail for England. She sailed in July aboard the S.S. *Pennland* and arrived in Plymouth on 28 July; however, no letters from her, or Elizabeth, during that summer are in the collection. Margaret spent several weeks during the late summer recovering from an operation performed in Savannah on 8 August. In a letter written on 9 September, Margaret explained that because of her slow recovery, "I literally do nothing all day but lie around and sew a little, read and write a few letters. I am not going to try to do anything useful until Nov., and not then if I don't feel perfectly strong...." By the end of November, Margaret's mother had returned from England, along with Elizabeth and her two daughters. They had sailed from London, on 8 November, aboard the S.S. *American Merchant* and arrived in New York on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. Apparently Ted returned to Nigeria. While at Frogmore during this trip, Elizabeth was able to be with her sister Margaret during her pregnancy and the birth of her first child, Ross Macdonald Sanders, who was born 22 July 1929 in Savannah.

Once again, there is a hiatus in letters during Elizabeth's stay at Frogmore that continued until she left for England in September 1930, leaving her two daughters, aged four and one and a half, in the care of their grandmother and aunt. Elizabeth spent a few days in England, visiting Ted's parents, before sailing for Africa on 8 October on the R.M.S. *Accra*. After she reached Lagos on 23 October, she posted a letter to her family at Frogmore with a description of her activities aboard ship and with the disappointing news that Ted had been unable to meet her ship in Lagos. Their reunion would have to wait until she reached Port Harcourt, still a two-day sail on board the *Sir George*. The letters from Elizabeth in Nigeria during the fall and winter of 1930–31 give few details about life in Ebu, the village north of Onitsha where she and Ted lived. From

Margaret's letter of 14 January 1931, in which she responds to a recent letter from Elizabeth, a glimpse of life in Africa emerges. "So much training of boys, entertaining company, and traveling about I never heard. Some of the places sound very nice and I'm so glad you have a pet swimming hole at Ebu," Margaret wrote.

Elizabeth and Ted, once more on leave, sailed for England from Lagos in 1931 aboard the M.S. *Accra*, landed in Plymouth on 30 November, spent a few days with the senior Wilkinsons, and then departed Liverpool on 5 December on the S.S. *Adriatic* bound for America. They arrived in New York on 14 December, were reunited with their daughters, and celebrated Christmas in Frogmore with all of their South Carolina family. Once again, there are no letters in the collection for the period of the Wilkinsons' visit; however, as soon as Elizabeth and Ted, with daughters in tow, departed Frogmore for the return trip to England, letters to them appeared once more, but letters from England and then Africa are missing. The first letter from Mrs. Macdonald, dated 1 April 1932, indicates that the traveling party departed in late March. The family arrived in Southampton on 8 April aboard the S.S. *Majestic*. Margaret, after receiving Elizabeth's first letter from England, commiserated with her, in her own letter of 21 April, on the "dreadful crossing they had all endured." Margaret also commented on her own pregnancy and the expected delivery date, in late October, of her second child. She planned to have her friend Ruth Windsor "come here about Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, unless I've had symptoms before, and make the dash to Savannah with me when my hour strikes." The focus of most of the letters from Margaret and her mother to Elizabeth and her family was the improvements in the yard and gardens and the constant flow of visitors to Frogmore. Clare Macdonald supervised the planting of grass and flowers during the spring and described the resulting lawn and blooms in all her letters during the summer. Many of the plants were given by friends and were part of her "friendship" garden.

When the Clover Club, a woman's literary society founded in 1891, met at her house in May, "everyone was most impressed by the garden," Mrs. Macdonald wrote Elizabeth on 17 May. "The Shasta daisies were not quite open to greet Mrs. Foster yesterday..., Mrs. Bristol & Orrie saw their gift verbenas blooming gaily and larkspur both blue & white & Joe's Blue Sage & the lovely Virginia flock were in full bloom—and we have a real green lawn already," she continued. Visitors—friends to spend the day, go fishing, play tennis on Frogmore's courts, or simply see the old house and garden—were numerous that summer. Mrs. Macdonald observed, in a letter to Elizabeth written 10 June, "there were so many callers I did not have much chance to talk with Anne [Christensen]." She had driven over from Beaufort with Niels Christensen who "brot a Prof. [Robert D.] Bass from Columbia, who is writing a thesis on & compiling the Grayson letters & it seems that this particular Grayson (died 1859) lived here at Frogmore."

Clare Macdonald, who had spent much of the summer of 1932 visiting in the North, was overwhelmed with visiting friends who welcomed her back in September, and she was also greeted with renovations and additions to the house that had been completed while she was away. She described the improvements in a letter to Elizabeth written 14 September: "I am having the back porch glassed & re-screened & the north side of the house plastered underneath (to keep the cold wind from the floors.) The sleeping porch (or sun parlor) is a great addition to the library (which will be now the drawing room as all the books are moved over to my side of house.)" She planned to use some of the furnishings she acquired from her brother's Philadelphia house, left to her after his death, including "Father's & Mother's oil paintings (may give the big one to Academy of Fine Arts Phila.), in the new drawing room." All of the work, however, had to be completed quickly so that the house could be put back in shape before the birth of Margaret's baby in October. Clare Macdonald

announced to Elizabeth, in her letter of 7 October, “everything in the house was finished off yesterday. My two new rugs came too.” A week later, Margaret and her friend Ruth drove to Savannah after Margaret had experienced “some pains,” and the next afternoon, 14 October, a second son was born. At 6:20 P.M., Margaret was able to pen a short note to her sister: “Bub is the sweetest plumb husky blond lamb, golden hair and fair[,] fair skin.” On 22 October, in another letter, Margaret wrote about her new baby: “one of his names is Edward, but I still can’t decide on the other, which will be the one he is called by. I still hope to happen on a name which fits him perfectly.” Eventually Robin was determined to be the most appropriate name for him.

Unfortunately, there is a gap in the correspondence from June 1933 until March 1934, the period of time that Elizabeth was visiting England and South Carolina. Other records show that she and her daughters sailed from Port Harcourt in Nigeria and arrived in Liverpool aboard the S.S. *Adda* on 26 June, spent a few weeks with her in-laws, and then sailed from Southampton on the S.S. *Acquitania* bound for New York. She landed there 28 July and probably traveled directly to Lake Lure, North Carolina, where the Macdonald and Sanders families planned to spend August and part of September.

When the letters resumed in March 1934, Elizabeth and her daughters Margaret, seven years old, and Mary aged four, had just left Frogmore for New York where they sailed on the S.S. *Berengaria* bound for Southampton where they arrived 28 March. This trip, unlike previous ones, ended in England where the family joined Ted and settled in a house at Muswell Hill, a few miles north of the center of London. Ted, who had been ordained in 1932 before he left Nigeria, served as warden of the S.C.M. Club for English and foreign students in 1934 and also acted as a priest in St. Paul’s Cathedral the same year. Margaret, in response to Elizabeth’s description of her daily activities, wrote in a letter of 21 June, “your life

sounds interesting but perfectly exhausting to me. I can't think that you have to entertain continuously with or without help, and while you are trying to finish fixing your house." Apparently, Elizabeth had also confided to Margaret that she had had some difficulty in adjusting to life in England. Margaret remarked, in her letter of 27 June: "I'm glad you could talk it out with Ted though talking does not alter the fact that you had to come to England to live with reservations, while he has in you, the children, and his parents all the people he cares most for."

In the summer of 1933, Jack and Nina Macdonald's marriage ended in divorce. Margaret wrote to Elizabeth about the situation in a letter dated 29 June. "Jack seems to have hold of himself pretty well now, and if only he does not have to go to the court in Atlanta to fight for his share of Ross, life will right itself in time for him I think." Even though Ross continued to live with his mother, or grandmother Hansell, when he was not in boarding school, he did continue to visit his father and other Macdonald relatives at Frogmore, especially during summer vacations and holidays.

Even though few of Jack Macdonald's letters are preserved in this collection, he is often a subject of discussion in the letters his mother and sister wrote to Elizabeth. Of course, both were devastated by his divorce and his inability to find and hold a job that he liked. During the summer of 1934, Jack remained at home while the rest of the family spent time in the North Carolina mountains. Margaret remarked, in a letter written to Elizabeth on 3 October, that Jack "evidently got going very strong with his Beaufort crowd while we were away...and has spent almost no time here..." His behavior "has worried mother a lot, though I've tried to keep her calm about him." Margaret was delighted, later, to share some good news about Jack: "he is to be made district engineer [with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration], with a better salary and only gets home for weekends." She continued: "this may lead to a permanent job and anyway it will get him out of Beaufort and its gay set." Still, she was worried



about his future and wanted him “to make something of his life while there is still time.” “I believe marriage to Ruth is the only hope and perhaps this new job will lead to that,” she speculated. Jack had known Ruth Windsor since she and Margaret had become friends while in nurses training together in the early 1920s. Ruth was from Bathurst, New Brunswick, Canada, and came to the United States in 1919 to study. She remained close friends with Margaret after she graduated, and frequently visited Frogmore from her home in Chester, South Carolina, where she worked as a county nurse. She spent the Christmas of 1934 at Frogmore with the Macdonalds and returned often during that winter and spring. In a letter to Elizabeth, written 30 January 1935, Margaret chronicled Ruth’s recent visit and mentioned that both Ruth and Jack “seemed very confident and happy which always makes me glad.” The romance continued into the summer and Margaret informed Elizabeth in her letter of 5 June, “Jack seems much warmer on the trail of Ruth this last month.” Ruth was “very happy because he seeks her out instead of just being pleased when she happens along. I wish it might lead to something real for them both.” Jack proposed to Ruth in the early summer and the couple married in a simple ceremony before a Charleston magistrate on 30 July with only Margaret, Ed, and Nancy McGowan, a friend and neighbor, present.

Mrs. Macdonald wanted to visit her “English family” during the summer of 1935 but was uncertain about the feasibility of a trip abroad at a time when Margaret was still recovering her health and needed help with her children. In her letter to Elizabeth, written on 7 February, Margaret was optimistic about their mother’s plans. “I think I can work it for mother to go to England this summer, seems to me she must, both for her sake and yours.” Ted had considered a change in his work that would require the family to move from London to Eversden, about six miles from Cambridge, where he would serve as rector for the parishes of Great and Little Eversden. Elizabeth had also announced to her family that she was

expecting another child in the fall. Mrs. Macdonald wanted to be able to help with the family's move to Cambridgeshire and also be present for the birth of her grandchild. Finding the money to finance the trip was a concern, but in a letter written 24 February, Mrs. Macdonald explained to Elizabeth that she had solved that problem. "My Phila. School Bonds have soared in price lately and I am thinking of selling and reinvesting the principle and using the surplus to pay my \$1000.00 indebtedness and the rest (\$500) for a possible trip to see you. I could not see my way clear before for it takes all my income for living expenses & the family must live in my absence." In late April, a wire from Ted conveyed the sad news that Elizabeth had suffered another miscarriage. Mrs. Macdonald immediately responded: "I long to fly to you. The news came a few hours ago but I am not able to write about it." She wanted "to take the first boat I can make," but upon reflection, determined to sail in late June as she had planned. The only letters extant from the summer of 1935 are the ones Margaret wrote her mother and Elizabeth, so there is very little information to fill in the details of Mrs. Macdonald's activities; however, Margaret narrated the daily comings and goings at Frogmore, including the swimming parties, trips to Beaufort, Charleston, and Savannah, and frequent visits of friends and neighbors. She also included, in her letter of 6 August to Elizabeth, a summary of Ed's farm account for the season and comments about his future plans. "The accounts are just settled and Ed made \$1,800.00 some of which had to go into the Truck which is his," she informed her sister. Next year, Ed planned "to farm his own land independently and run his Father' farm as well (on a salary basis). It is nice to know that we have a little money, though there are a thousand things that need doing with it." Ed's relationship with his father had been especially stormy during the summer, and Margaret, after an unpleasant verbal exchange with Mrs. Sanders, had, as she related the incident to Elizabeth, "laid her out, which has had the result of keeping her away all summer until lately." For those

reasons, Margaret believed "Edw. will be better off if he makes a clean break" with his father. Ed's father had previously deeded his son a 240-acre farm on Capers Island and Ed was developing that land for the following season. In her 12 September letter to Elizabeth, Margaret mentioned that Ed was having his farm surveyed "so he can apply for a government loan to farm it." Ed's work paid off handsomely with a bumper crop on the Capers Island farm in 1936. Clare informed Elizabeth, in a letter written 7 June 1936, "Ed's cucumbers (on Capers) are bearing well in spite of dry weather. He has shipped 1007 crates & has gotten a fine price. They will go far toward paying off his indebtedness."

Clare Macdonald left on a trip in July during which she planned to visit with relatives in Pennsylvania and Delaware before continuing to Montreal and Quebec for a vacation. After a week with a friend in New Hampshire, Clare awaited, in New Jersey, the arrival of Elizabeth and her daughters, who sailed for America on 31 July for an extended visit. Elizabeth, Margaret Clare, aged 9, and Elizabeth Mary, aged 7, arrived in New York on 10 August aboard the S.S. *American Merchant*. For the four months that Elizabeth remained in America, there are no letters in the collection. But the correspondence resumes as soon as Elizabeth and daughters departed New York on the S.S. *Berengaria*. The family arrived at Southampton on 15 December, in plenty of time to get back to Eversden and prepare for Christmas. Margaret's third child, Elizabeth Ruth "Sibet" Sanders, had been born, on 21 August 1936, while Elizabeth, Margie Clare and Mary (Si Si) were at Frogmore. Margaret reminded Elizabeth, in her letter of 10 December, "having our children together seemed so very sweet and worthwhile to me."

Each time that Elizabeth returned to England after a visit to Frogmore, she had to readjust to life in England. In a letter written to her American family on 24 March 1937, she lamented, "Easter is almost here, but I don't feel very convinced about it. We had a snow-storm all yesterday afternoon

and it was bitterly cold.” In stark contrast was her memory of Frogmore during her last visit: “I simply long to stretch out on the grass under a tree and smell violets as I remember doing last year.” Her next letter home contained similar sentiments. “I’ve had a queer cold place somewhere inside, and awful attacks of homesickness—due partly to the Spring weather I expect, and partly to the feeling of aloneness in England that I get when I’m not with Ted,” she wrote on 9 April. Ted was away from home occasionally, attending meetings or conferences, and Elizabeth missed his company. Much of Elizabeth’s time was taken up with her own responsibilities as a minister’s wife and with household duties. Both daughters attended school in Cambridge, and Elizabeth was always busy with them. But she did find time to continue with her passion for writing. Her 9 April letter, for example, included a poem she and her daughters composed while on a picnic. “And we made a poem, each one putting in a line here and there, and M[argie] C[lare] was impressed with the easy way poems grow out of doors.” Elizabeth also found time to write a play, and sent a manuscript copy to her mother. Mrs. Macdonald had additional copies made and distributed to the schools on St. Helena. In a letter to Elizabeth, dated 24 March, Mrs. Macdonald mentioned a trip to “Lee Rosenwald School to see your play produced.” On 4 April, she wrote to Elizabeth, “ten of the schools were to give ‘He is Love’ to-day,” but because of heavy rains, “the schools can not carry out their programs....” One other writing project was also finished while Elizabeth lived at Eversden. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London published a 48-page pamphlet, *Easy Lessons on the Care of Babies*, written by Elizabeth Wilkinson, as part of a series titled “Little Books for Africa.” Even though there is no publication date on the pamphlet, it was evidently printed in 1935 or 1936. In a letter to her mother, responding to Mrs. Macdonald’s plan to have copies of the book reproduced for use in the local schools, Elizabeth remarked, “I can get you copies of the lessons

on Baby Care at about 10c/ each. It might be cheaper than having them mimeographed, and would be more durable.” The booklet was the product of Elizabeth’s first-hand experience in Africa and, as she wrote in the introduction, “the lessons are dedicated to my friends among the Ibo women of Southern Nigeria, who received me graciously and from whom I learned much, and to all African mothers and babies.” Nine lessons were included, each one with appropriate verses of scripture cited, and with a section of questions at the end. Elizabeth emphasized the important of providing babies with “good water,” keeping them bathed and clean, feeding them “the right kind of food,” and tending to their illnesses. She also had stern advice for African mothers about the practice of circumcision. “Circumcision is helpful to boys, but it spoils a girl’s body...,” she warned. “Many Ibo women die in child-birth only because their bodies were harmed by circumcision. Do not allow any girl-baby to be circumcised, or any young girl, if you can prevent it,” she concluded. In summation, Elizabeth emphasized to the African mothers the “many small and easy things to do for your children. God can help your children through these small things if you are faithful and do them. Remember, you and God are working together. His power is mighty, and it is this power which will help us and our children if we obey His laws.”

A few years later, Elizabeth wrote the text for a pamphlet in the African Home Library, a series of fourteen titles published by the Sheldon Press, London, and intended to serve an African audience. This sixteen-page pamphlet, *Christian Family Life*, was credited to “E.M. Wilkinson (Formerly C.M.S., Southern Nigeria)” and was probably published in 1941. There is no general introduction or acknowledgments, but Elizabeth stated her purpose in writing in the first chapter. “In this little book we shall try to think together about what we give to our children, and to find out what are the best gifts we can give to them,” she began. “Then we shall try to find out *how* we can give these best gifts. This we can only do if we ask God to

help us,” she reasoned. The “best gifts,” and the three topics she developed in the essay, were: 1. *Good Parents*. 2. *A Christian Home*. 3. *The Knowledge of God*. And finally, she added two pages about Christmas and Easter, perhaps as a reflection of her own delight in those two days. “Christmas and Easter are the two happiest days for Christians, and our children can learn much from the way in which we ‘keep’ them.” Perhaps she remembered her early Christmases on St. Helena Island when she wrote: “Christmas gifts should only be given in love for the person to whom we give, as between members of a family, or in love to God, as when we give to poor and needy people for His sake.”

Beginning in March 1937, Elizabeth’s letters from England are once more preserved in the collection, so the three-way conversation with Elizabeth, Margaret, and their mother resumes. Social events—teas, bridge parties, lunches, dinners, and dances—visitors, pets, and children’s activities dominate the letters, with only an occasional observation or comment about the affairs of the larger world. And this at a time when Europe edged closer to conflict and the people of the United States struggled through the Great Depression. Details from trips to Cleveland and Philadelphia for Mrs. Macdonald, a vacation at Silver Lake, New Hampshire for Margaret and her three children, and a holiday at Isle of Palms, South Carolina, enlivened the written exchanges during the summer months. Mrs. Macdonald described her first experience with air travel in a letter to her granddaughters written 8 June while she was “up in the air, riding on the clouds. We are riding now as steadily as tho some old horse was pulling a sled thru the snow but once in awhile a cloud mountain rises before us & then we plunge into it and our old nag becomes a bucking broncho...”

Jack Macdonald’s work was reorganized during the summer of 1937; however, he was retained in a new position with more responsibility, but according to his mother, with no more pay. Mrs. Macdonald informed

Elizabeth in a letter of 16 October, "Mr. [Harry] Hopkins & his aides were down from Washington last week & Jack saw them off at 1 A. M. Friday." With his job situation stable, Jack decided to rent a larger apartment, No. 3, St. Michael's Place, a location near Mrs. Macdonald's close friend, Clelia McGowan. Mrs. Macdonald enjoyed the results of some of her son's work when she visited the restored Dock Street Theater in Charleston. She described what she saw to Elizabeth in a letter written 31 October: The theater "is a marvelous place—made to look exactly as it did 200 years ago except for running water & lights. The old cornices & copings, candelabra &c are exactly reproduced and the proportions are lovely. It is one of Jack's projects and he is very proud of it."

A year and a half had passed since Elizabeth's last visit to Frogmore and there was much discussion in the letters that passed between South Carolina and England in the spring of 1938 about Clare's possible summer visit to England; however, the increasing likelihood of war made travel to Europe problematic that year. Clare usually avoided comments on the worsening conditions, but would react to major events that were reported in the news. In a letter to Elizabeth, written 1 September 1938, she remarked, "I have been so panicky over the Czechoslovakian situation all week that I could not write....The thot of war with Germany makes me feel sick all over. I have managed somehow to press the other wars into the back of my consciousness but if England & France are involved!!" A week later, she remarked, "I am jumpy & panicky over the news yesterday that England is prepared for war unless Germany keeps hands off in the Sudetan troubles. Do send the children to us if war seems imminent." Margaret was also concerned about the implications of a European war for Elizabeth and her family. "I wonder so constantly what all this war scare in Europe has spelled for you," she remarked in a letter of 21 September. "None of your letters have mentioned the situation yet though it seems to have been going on for ever. We have just listened to Anthony Eden

speaking about the settlement which he seems to feel is a shameful one and has only put off the evil hour.”

Even with the prospect of Europe at war, Clare Macdonald wanted to visit her English family in the spring of 1939. She outlined her plan in a letter to Elizabeth written 6 January: “I could go over in April and come back with you...if it seems at all possible for you & yours to come here for the summer....” By the end of February, Clare had decided to sail for England in March, accompanied by her cousin Edith Campbell, and return in June with Elizabeth’s family who would come for an extended stay at Frogmore. In the meantime, Ted and Elizabeth accepted an invitation to move to Sudbury in Derbyshire where Ted would assume responsibility for the parish ministry. Margaret, in response to Elizabeth’s letter recounting her visit to her new home, remarked on her sister’s description of her new home: “I like the idea of two bathrooms and electric lights, though 7 bedrooms will be an added incentive for you to entertain the world at large I fear.” Clare, and her traveling companion, sailed on the R.M.S. *Queen Mary* from New York and arrived at Southampton on 29 March, just in time to help the Wilkinsons move from Little Eversden to Sudbury. After a visit of just over two months, Clare, Edith and the Wilkinsons boarded the S.S. *Scythia* in Liverpool and sailed for New York, where they arrived 19 June. The Wilkinsons’ time in South Carolina was cut short by the seriousness of the European situation, and they decided to return to England in late August. Once in New York, and just a day or so before their journey back to England was to begin, Ted and Elizabeth decided, because the news from Europe was so ominous, they would send their daughters back to Frogmore, and they would return to England. Before Clare Macdonald knew of that decision, she wrote a letter, dated 22 August, to her daughter and son-in-law, in which she expressed her deep concern: “The situation seems so tense that I long to grab you all and hold you here and yet your home is over there and I have no right. My anxiety for you gives me an



even keener realization of the anxious hearts everywhere.” Soon, however, a wire arrived from Ted and Elizabeth relating their decision to leave the girls in America until the threat of war eased. “It is a relief to have them coming back to us,” Clare wrote, “but I dread the journey for you & Ted.” Ted wrote Clare on 27 August, a day after sailing from New York aboard the R.M.S. *Mauretania*, about the difficult decision he and Elizabeth had made. “We felt no doubt when we heard the latest news in New York, that it was best not to take the children with us,” he recounted. “We still hope that it may be possible to get them home in time to begin school in the normal way, but we can only be guided by what we find in England.” Once at sea, Elizabeth began a letter that chronicled her family’s activities during the last day or two in America, including a hasty visit to the New York World’s Fair, and also outlined her thoughts about the immediate future. She speculated about Adolph Hitler’s intentions in Poland. “The more I think about it, the more it appears to me that Hitler has maneuvered us into an impossible position.” He had, she believed, cleverly manipulated England into a situation that would force that country “to blockade Germany and bomb her cities” in order to stand with Poland. “My own feeling is that no cause can justify modern warfare against a civilian population, and therefore I hope England backs down again.” Elizabeth wrote in her letter, dated Friday, 1 September: “We land at Southampton tonight instead of London on Sunday. Hitler went into Poland this morning.”

As soon as they landed, Ted and Elizabeth traveled by train to their home, the rectory, in Sudbury where Ted’s mother, Mary, awaited their return. Ted’s father had died the previous fall and his mother had moved with them to Sudbury. Once back home, Elizabeth and Ted settled into a daily routine largely undisturbed by the war that raged on the continent. In her letter to her South Carolina family written on 10 September, however, Elizabeth mentioned, “the whole day yesterday went into making curtains

to satisfy the air wardens. It is a terrific job to darken this house effectively, but I think the worst of it is done now." Ted, in a letter to Clare Macdonald, dated 14 September, conveyed a sense of normalcy even as the country prepared for any eventually. "Schools in country districts are opening in the normal way in a few days," but night activities, even church services, were moved to daylight hours and "people are not supposed to use flash lamps & torches outside," he noted. "Except for these precautionary regulations & the rationing of petrol there is nothing to make the war seem real or near, thank God." He did reveal, however, "half a dozen men have been called up from the village so far."

At the same time their parents were resuming their lives at Sudbury, Margie Clare and Mary were taking up new lives in South Carolina. They again settled in at Frogmore where they had spent the summer and made plans to enter the public school in Beaufort when classes began. Margaret's two boys, Ross and Robin, also started back to school in Beaufort and all four children rode over on the school bus. Because Clare Macdonald wrote a paragraph or two each day describing her family's activities, her letters are virtual diaries for the years that her granddaughters lived at Frogmore. She wanted Elizabeth to know everything about Margie Clare and Mary during their important high school years. Margaret's letters, however, were shorter and less encyclopedic than her mother's; she had little free time to write. In March 1940, she had to deal with her mother's sudden illness. Clare Macdonald experienced a severe gall bladder attack that required hospitalization in Savannah and then an operation to remove the diseased organ. Even though Clare recovered quickly from the effects of the illness and operation and was able to return home to convalesce, Margaret felt the impact of her mother's illness. She wrote Elizabeth, on 4 April, "I have turned quite white all across the front of my head and my goofy nervous system is still very

jangled and unreliable....Nothing really matters except having mother safe, serene and growing stronger each day in her own little house.” Unfortunately, the war news was not good and Mrs. Macdonald constantly worried, especially after the Germans invaded Belgium and Holland in May. Margaret reported to Elizabeth, in a letter written 10 May, that their mother’s was once again suffering from high blood pressure “caused from worry over the war, I imagine.” Although the summer letters from America were generally cheerful, there was also an undercurrent of unease in them about events in Europe. “The appalling news that comes each day makes letters seem a travesty & yet I want to pour out my heart to you every minute but my feelings are wordless,” Clare wrote to Elizabeth on 12 June. Elizabeth, in one of her few letters that survive from 1940, appended to the end of her 17 June letter, “on the one o’clock news we heard that France has laid down her arms.” But Clare found diversions to occupy her thoughts and keep her mind off the constant flow of bad news from the war front that she heard on the radio each evening. She recounted to Elizabeth, in a letter of 23 June, “yesterday I spent the morning looking over & reading old letters.” She had found them in the storage attic at Frogmore after the children had “rifled them for stamps...[and left them] sadly displaced.” “So brot boxes & boxes of them over here to sort and burn or store safely, [but] I can’t bear to burn many of them...[and] fear no one else would preserve them.” Included, she wrote to Elizabeth, were “all your letters from Africa & Argie’s from Cambridge H[ospital] & Jack’s from overseas.” I can’t part with them and yet it is harrowing to re-read some of them,” she lamented. Clare’s usual social activities—the weekly Clover Club meetings, the Garden Club, her duties as trustee of the county schools on St. Helena—were suspended during the summer months; however, she did continue to attend church services in Beaufort on Sundays. She informed Elizabeth, in a letter written Sunday afternoon, 30 June, that “Mary and I went to church this morning. I wept throughout the

service but it helped me. We are all praying for war to cease & a righteous peace. Horror so stuns me when I dwell on conditions at present....”

During the first week of August 1940, Margaret, her children, her mother, and Ruth Macdonald drove to Hyatt's Farm, a summer retreat in the mountains of North Carolina, near Bryson City, where they planned to stay until September. Ed remained at Frogmore where he intended to wait until the tomato harvest was finished before joining the family in North Carolina. On Sunday afternoon, 11 August, a hurricane, accompanied by a storm tide of 13 feet, made landfall near Beaufort, and smashed St. Helena Island. Because the causeways had washed out, Ed had walked to Beaufort, borrowed his father's car, picked up his brother Gus in Augusta, arrived at Hyatt's Farm Tuesday midnight, and provided a first-hand account of the devastation. "They had a bad time Sunday at Frogmore," Clare wrote Elizabeth on 14 August. "The blow started at 3 P.M. Tide rising too. When the roof was ripped off, Ed broke into Tree House & they [Ed, and Ed's sister's family] tried to keep dry there but when salt water seeped thru the floor they all fled to Nancy's [Nancy McGowan's nearby house] where Bo [Beau Sam McGowan] was alone. Their house was uninjured." Clare then described the losses caused by the storm. "Ed has lost heavily on the farm (implements & buildings) & at Frogmore the dock is carried off & all the boat's & Ed's car was floating in salt water." She had also learned that "our wind mill fan & one chimney & some ceiling &c ...[were] blown down. The house will have to be practically done over," she continued. "Even the underpinning is injured. I am wild to be able to see about it myself but have to possess my soul in patience." Margaret returned to Frogmore with Ed and, after a few days at home, rejoined her mother and children in the mountains. She brought back fresh details of devastation that Clare added to her letter to Elizabeth. The causeways had been repaired "sufficiently so that cars & trucks can get over & the work of re-roofing Frogmore is begun." Trees were strewn across the island and

the salt water, even though it had receded, had left its mark all around the house. "It will be years before things will grow in the garden, I fear, for the salt kills every thing," she lamented. Margaret provided her sister with her own first-hand description of Frogmore in a letter written 22 August, after her return to the mountains. The sight of the house and grounds "still fills me with pain—to remember the garden a waste of dead plants and wreckage and so many lovely tree friends of our childhood uprooted or smashed—and Frogmore house so battered." Mrs. Macdonald's first look at her home came on 2 September when the family drove in from North Carolina. In her first letter to Elizabeth after her return, she catalogued the work completed and in progress. It was to her "like trying to put flesh back on a skeleton."

Just as the family confronted the wreckage left by the storm, newspaper articles and radio broadcasts forcefully brought to their attention the terror that the English were experiencing from the German air raids that struck London and the countryside almost daily. Margaret reacted to the news in a letter to Elizabeth written 9 September. "The last week has been so terrible for England with nearly constant bombing of London and everything that happens here seems so small in comparison." Even though the German bombing campaign continued through the end of October, the only indication that Elizabeth and Ted were concerned about their own safety was a comment in Margaret's letter to Ted, dated 18 October, in which she acknowledged having received his letter, with letters for Margie Clare and Mary "in case of accident to you." She assured him that "I have them carefully locked away."

The fall of 1941 brought a change of monumental proportions at Penn School. Clare related to Elizabeth, in her 30 September letter, "Rossa & Grace were here yesterday and told us that they had given in their resignations to the Penn Trustees...." "The news," Clare confessed, "frankly floored me. I can't think of Penn School without them." Rossa was

seventy years old and Grace one year younger, and both women needed to step down from their positions of responsibility. Clare's major regret, she confessed to Elizabeth, was that the resignations had not happened "when you and Ted could have been available." The retirements, however, would not take place until someone else was available to take over the responsibilities of running the school, so the impact of the change in leadership at Penn would be gradual. Another shock for Mrs. Macdonald was the news of the sudden Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December. She had heard "the news over the radio... so you realize how grieved & upset I am," she wrote Elizabeth that day. As a Christian and pacifist, she had "kept hoping that there might be a peaceful solution. I know this is God's world and that Peace is possible only if we as nations will accept His guidance instead of our own will; but we get deeper and deeper in the mire of hate..." In her next letter to Elizabeth, Clare explained the difficulty of reconciling her pacifist views with the reality of military aggression. "What can one do when attacked?" she wondered. Later, however, in a letter to Elizabeth written 7 January 1942, she expressed sympathy for the Japanese: "Altho their attack on us was dastardly, I do not feel that we never treated them with friendship over here & our distrust & arrogance has borne its bitter fruit."

As the summer of 1942 approached, Clare made a decision about her granddaughters' school plans for the fall. She informed Ted, in a letter written to him 24 May, "I have entered Clare & *Mary* in Hannah More Academy for next year." Even though there might be a "problem...[in] getting them back and forth" because "all the trains now are crowded with recruits going & coming to Parris Is. & other places...for training," she wanted the girls to have the advantage of the best school available. All travel was uncertain after May 1942, for gas rationing would take effect that month. Margaret, in a letter to Elizabeth, written 24 May, mentioned, "I

am only allowed 3 gallons a week now....Edw. can get gas for his car because of using it on he farm, but his tires are poor and no more can be had." She accepted rationing gracefully: "being rationed on sugar and gas is a very small matter really and we'll all get used to the necessary adjustment." For the most part, however, life continued at Frogmore, just as it had for decades, with little interruption from the larger world. "Frogmore is so beautiful and filled in every corner with bird song," Margaret informed Elizabeth by letter on 25 June. "Every thing is green still from the recent rains and the tides flow by the hedge in stately majesty. We've had loads of cantaloupes and sweet corn out of the children's garden and now the watermelons are getting ripe," she concluded. Ed's farming operations were also very profitable that summer. Margaret happily informed Elizabeth, in a letter of 3 July, "Edw. is doing his last winding up of accounts and hopes to be about \$18,000 to the good after all is paid up. This is nice because it means that we need not worry over finances for the coming year." Margaret planned to spend some of the money to replace porch furniture destroyed by the 1940 hurricane, and buy "a few clothes...." Ed, Margaret related to her sister, had just bought a yacht "for a song" and "has been reconditioning [it] since he stopped shipping." The vessel, she continued, "is too big to keep in our own creek," and was docked in Beaufort. Ed and Margaret also replaced their sons' sailboat that had been lost in the 1940 storm with a new one.

Although war news in the autumn of 1942 was more encouraging than it had been since the start of hostilities, especially with the successful Allied landings in North Africa in early November, Clare Macdonald was practically immobilized by news of the continuous loss of human life in the war. "The war makes me uncertain of everything," she confessed to Elizabeth in a letter written 14 November; "I grow more and more confused." A few days later, however, a letter arrived from England with the unexpected news that Elizabeth was pregnant. "My feelings are so

mixed I can scarcely untangle them,” Clare exclaimed to her daughter in a letter written 21 November. She was “so glad and so hopeful and yet, knowing you and your intense driving energy and the many calls on your strength,” she was also “anxious too.” The entire American family was delighted with the prospect of a new addition to the family, and Christmas at Frogmore, with Margie Clare and Mary home from Hannah More Academy and Ross Macdonald visiting from Williams College, was especially happy. The letters from Clare and Margaret to Elizabeth during the first months of 1943 were filled with optimism and anticipation. After noting the “9<sup>th</sup> hard freeze of the winter,” in her letter to Elizabeth of 5 February, Clare wrote: “The war news sounds so hopeful for Allied Victory that we can bear most everything in the shape of small difficulties.” Many of Clare’s usual activities—making calls on friends, shopping in Beaufort, or getting to church on Sunday—were curtailed because of war rationing. She wrote Elizabeth on 13 February, “there is no way for me to get to the Founders’ Day meeting [at Penn School for the] lack of gas makes it hard to get anywhere.” Even so, Clare found ways to get around to continue her interest in causes long dear to her. When the state interracial meeting was scheduled for late March in Columbia, Clare caught a ride up and back with Brantley Harvey, a member of the state legislature. She reported to Elizabeth, in her letter of 26 March, “we had the largest meeting we ever had and there were more *men* than women. The auditorium was packed and many of the representative white men in the state were there & spoke.” And she believed “we seem to be waking up, in the South, to our responsibilities and opportunities toward the other race who live among us.”

A few weeks after her trip to Columbia, Clare suffered a mild stroke and, as a result of weakness and the inability to see clearly, was confined to her bed. She was unable to read or write for a fortnight but by the time the cable arrived from England on 29 April announcing the birth of Gwyneth



Frances Ross Wilkinson, Clare was able to respond with a letter, dated 1 May, her first since her “spell.” Clare continued to improve during the summer of 1943, but was confined to Tree House and was unable to even get out to enjoy her beloved garden. Margie Clare and Mary returned to Frogmore early in June after their school year at Hannah More Academy ended, and Mary spent much of her time, nights especially, with her grandmother at Tree House.

Margaret’s time and energy during the winter of 1943–1944 was largely occupied in caring for her children and her mother. Clare Macdonald moved from Tree House to Frogmore Manor for the winter so Margaret could supervise her care. Although Clare was limited in her activities, she was able to attend the January ceremony at Penn School welcoming the Rev. Howard Kester, the new leader. Clare wrote Elizabeth, in a letter dated 9 January 1944, just after she had returned from the school, “[I] saw many old friends and listened to many speeches, of which I understood only a very few, and am weary & glad to be in my own bed but very glad I went.” Margaret also commented on the changes at Penn School in a letter to Elizabeth dated 3 February. “I haven’t seen anything of the Kesters but understand he is tightening up a lot of slack and perhaps will put the farm and shops on a more business-like basis; which they surely needed but I still have an odd feeling each time I go through Penn School grounds and realize that R. & G. are in charge no longer.” Mrs. Macdonald was able to travel by train, accompanied by her friend Nancy McGowan, to visit Jack and Ruth in Jacksonville, Florida, in March. Jack had been transferred from Detroit for a brief tour in the south to supervise the final work on “a very vital oil [pipe] line to reach from Texas to Norfolk, Va.,” Clare informed Elizabeth in a letter dated 4 March, and written from Jack and Ruth’s apartment on Neptune Beach. The trip that she most wanted to take, however, a trip to Hannah More Academy for Margie Clare’s graduation in June, she was not strong enough to attempt. Margaret and

Mary were able to secure space on a crowded train headed to Baltimore, attended the Hannah More ceremonies, and returned with Margie Clare. Clare Macdonald happily wrote Elizabeth on 11 June, "I have a thankful heart today to have your two girls back under my roof." She also recounted some of the compliments about Margie Clare that Margaret had heard while at Hannah More. "Miss Ward [the headmistress] told Margaret that the teachers were all surprised that Clare had made an average of 90 in spite of all that she was called upon to do for the school & that she had been a help & inspiration to every girl in Hannah More."

Clare Macdonald's health continued to be precarious during the summer of 1944. Margaret mentioned to Elizabeth, in a letter written 23 June, "both girls were shocked I fear at how off Bamba seemed for some time after our return....She does get terribly wound up when I'm away." Clare attributed her state of mind to her obsession with news from the war fronts. She admitted in a letter to Elizabeth, dated 15 June, "the war news always exhausts me but I have not the strength of mind to stop reading the newspapers." Even though the war news was positive after the D-Day landings in early June, the casualty numbers constantly agitated Clare. "If one can call this loss of life 'going well,' things seem to be 'going well' for the Allies," she lamented. On a more personal level, she was also concerned about the health and welfare of the local boys she knew who were in military service. She often mentioned the latest news received from men at the front in her letters to Elizabeth. Nancy McGowan's son, Beau Sam, was overseas and regularly sent V-mails from his duty station at Casa Blanca.

With brighter prospects for an end to the war, Margaret held out hope for a visit from Elizabeth and Gwyneth in the near future. In fact, Elizabeth had sent a letter to the American Council enquiring about transportation to America, and Margaret responded to that news in her letter of 3 July. "It just makes me weak all over with longing and excitement to think of seeing

you and Gwyneth.... [and] I do feel that you should come...as soon as possible." The uncertain state of Clare Macdonald's health dictated a visit at the first opportunity. Clare acknowledged that her motivation for struggling to live was her desire to see Elizabeth and her new granddaughter. In a letter to Ted, written 16 September, she confessed, "I have felt for more than a year now that I was living on borrowed time. My anxiety to see Elizabeth & the baby has been a spur to keep me here. However, when God sees fit to call, He will find me eager for the next step in living." Clare Macdonald began a letter to Elizabeth on Sunday, 8 October, and continued it the next day; however, she did not finish it because of another severe attack. She rallied and recovered her ability to speak and move very quickly. Margaret noted her progress in a letter to Elizabeth written 22 October. "Her speech is quite clear part of the time.... she knows us all, and her mind is clear though she can only take in one idea at a time," she continued. "It was wonderful to get the cable from you saying that plans were progressing...and Bamba was to continue hoping for E's coming...." Elizabeth did manage to find a way to get to her ailing mother and see her two daughters in America. She and Gwyneth sailed on the S.S. *Erbia* from Wales and arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on 26 December 1944, and then crossed over into the United States. The older daughters were both in school during the winter of 1944; Mary was at Ashley Hall and Margie Clare at the University of Pennsylvania. The family undoubtedly gathered at Frogmore for a late Christmas celebration but, as usual, there are no letters in the collection to chronicle the months Elizabeth remained in the United States. In late August 1945, Elizabeth and her three daughters returned to England by way of Canada. Their ship, the S.S. *Samaria*, reached Liverpool on 8 September, after a quick trip from Quebec. The entire Wilkinson family was together for the first time since September 1939.

Clare Macdonald resumed her regular correspondence with her English family, writing frequent letters, full of news from Frogmore, and receiving, in return, regular letters from Margie Clare, Mary, and Elizabeth. She wrote on Christmas Day 1945, "it rained hard all day Christmas but I had 14 callers just the same." Even though confined to her bed or a glider on the porch, she continued to enjoy her life. Elizabeth and Gwyneth visited her in the spring of 1949, just before the two of them joined Ted in Lagos, Nigeria, where he had gone to assume the position of secretary to the Christian Council of Nigeria and where he also served as educational advisor to the Protestant Mission schools throughout that country. There the family remained until July 1953 when they returned to England. Ted retired to Beer, in Devonshire, and served many of the parishes in the surrounding area. In the meantime, Clare Macdonald had died 9 May 1951 and was buried alongside her husband in the cemetery at St. Helena Episcopal Church in Beaufort.

**Gift of Mrs. Mary Wilkinson Gaston, Mrs. Clare Wilkinson Shoemyen, and Mrs. Gwyneth Wilkinson Love.**

PAPERS OF THE HAMMOND, BRYAN, AND CUMMING FAMILIES,  
1809, 1828–1994

With the addition of a sizeable collection of papers of the Hammond, Bryan and Cumming families to the large collection already housed in the South Caroliniana Library, the papers of these important South Carolina and Georgia families have become even richer and more significant. The accession of the John Shaw Billings Collection of Hammond family material in 1975, including over 7,000 manuscripts, photograph albums, and genealogical notes, spurred a renewed interest in James Henry Hammond and his family and, at the same time, provided much of the primary research material for four important books published over the course of the following two decades. Carol Bleser edited Hammond and Cumming letters and diaries and produced *The Hammonds of Redcliffe*

(1981), *Secret and Sacred: The Diaries of James Henry Hammond, A Southern Slaveholder* (1988), and *Tokens of Affection: The Letters of a Planter's Daughter in the Old South* (1996). Drew Gilpin Faust relied on the papers of the Hammond, Bryan, and Cumming families when she wrote *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (1982). The Hammond, Bryan, and Cumming material in the most recent gift perfectly complements the material acquired in the past and, originally, was part of the larger collection of family papers. The first portion of a letter, written by Alfred Cumming in 1858 to his sister Emily, while he served in the United States Army at Salt Lake City, in Utah Territory, was included in the 1975 gift, but marked "incomplete" in the calendar of the papers prepared at that time. The second half of the letter appeared in the most recent accession and has now been filed with the first part, making complete an important description of Salt Lake City at the time of the "Mormon War."

With the exception of one 1809 letter written by Sterling Edward Turner, a Charleston sea captain, to Doctor James Spann in Edgefield District, the earliest correspondence in the collection begins with a letter, dated Washington City, 14 January 1828, from Richard Henry Wilde (1789–1847) to Julia Bryan Cumming (1803–1879), the young wife of Henry Harford Cumming (1799–1866) of Augusta, Georgia. Before the correspondence between the two ended at Wilde's death in 1847, Julia had accumulated thirty-nine, letters, notes and pages of verse from her friend. Wilde, an Irishman by birth and attorney by profession, was known for his wit and affinity for literature. He had served briefly (1815–1817; 1825) as a member of the United States House of Representatives from Georgia and was again elected, in the fall of 1827, to fill the term of John Forsyth who had resigned from the House. His letter to Julia Cumming, whom he addressed as "My most exquisite Ariel," recounted the travails of his trip to Washington by coach and his "safe arrival in the Metropolis of

Republican factions and politicks [,] French Hats and Bison curls.” Wilde continued to write affectionate and playful letters to Julia until the end of his life, often with bits of verse enclosed, or with mentions of the latest novels, or simply the latest gossip. Rarely, however, did he mention his work in the House of Representatives. In a letter to Julia, dated “H[ouse] R[epresentatives] 1 April 1828,” he did note the application of Goode Bryan, Julia’s brother, for an appointment to West Point. The application had been “duly filed,” Wilde wrote, “but tho’ two cadets have been since named I had not influence enough with the Department to get him on as one of them. I am not in favor with the Court.” More typical was his question, “Have you read ‘Flirtation,’” a reference to an English novel that had just been published. “It’s a dull affair,” he continued. “I mean the novel. The thing itself is, or may be, quite amusing, for ought I know. Will you give me your opinion?” Wilde remained in Congress until 1835, but was often in Augusta between sessions and frequently visited Julia and her family. In a letter dated 29 April 1833, Augusta, Wilde informed Julia that he had been prevented from visiting her that morning “to say adieu” before she left on a trip to Mount Zion, Georgia, her parents’ home. “Imagine all the pretty and witty and sentimental things I should have said at parting with my best friend. Your imagination will do me more than justice, and the very worst of my sarcasms will be better than the best of all the compliments you have lately heard.” Wilde was not returned to Congress by his constituents in the fall election of 1834, and subsequently spent the years 1835–1840 in Europe where he immersed himself in the study of Italian literature and history.

No letters from Wilde survive in the collection for the years from 1833 to 1842, but the correspondence resumes with a letter dated Washington, 13 January 1842, addressed to “Mia Carissima Padrona.” Wilde hastily explained that the phrase “means literally nothing more than my most dear Patroness,” but to his ear was “the ‘juste milieu’ between formality and

freedom in Italian.” After his return from Italy, Wilde had once again taken up the practice of law. “Shut up in the Law library or Supreme Court doing nothing but writing or studying cases, going no-where and seeing nobody that anybody cares a fig for seeing[,] I am but the dregs of myself....” Early in 1843, Wilde moved to New Orleans to establish his law practice and, increasingly, his letters to Julia were filled with details of “New Orleans dissipation,” by which he meant “only dining out and going to parties.” In his letter of 27 January 1844, he wrote of a party given the evening before by “Mr. Benjamin a member of the Legislature, who married a Creole lady (i.e. country-born of French parents.) It was a very splendid affair, most of the ladies and dresses being Parisian by education and fashion....” Later that year, Wilde returned to writing poetry and sent Julia a poem written for her titled, “A Pen and ink Likeness retouched with chalk and charcoal.” Dated 18 October 1846, the poem honored the long friendship the two had enjoyed: “Your pencil Dear Julia! One second— / the Portrait is hardly completed / Many years have gone by—but I reckon’d / Our sittings would scarce be repeated.” Wilde, in his letter to Julia, dated 14 June 1847, announced his appointment as “professor of Public & International Law in the University of Louis[iana] in spite of my resistance...” His new responsibilities, along with his law practice, left little time for literature, poetry or music; “Constant employment weariness and rest succeed one another like day & night, and the true enjoyment of social, kindly and affectionate communion of heart & mind...” did not exist for him, he lamented. Wilde died a few months later, on 10 September, one of the more than 2,300 inhabitants of New Orleans who succumbed to the yellow fever epidemic of 1847.

The letters in the next series in the collection were addressed to Emily Cumming (1834–1911), the daughter of Julia Bryan and Henry H. Cumming. The first, a letter to Emily from her mother, dated February

1850, conveyed family news. A letter from her brother Thomas William Cumming (1831–1889), dated 20 July 1850, Worcester, Massachusetts, enumerated the “many ‘things’” he had seen in “Washington, New York, and other places” during his first visit to the North. Emily’s sister, Annie Maria Cumming Hall (1826–1855), the wife of the Rev. Charles Henry Hall, an Episcopal minister with a church at Rockville, near Charleston, wrote about the damage caused by a hurricane that struck the Carolina coast in September 1854. A small beach settlement at Edingsville was especially hard-hit. “Three houses that stood on high ground a fortnight ago are on the beach now,” Annie wrote in her letter of 16 September. “The ocean has broken through in seven places, in short, every one now agrees that it would be at the risk of life to live there any longer and I presume the village will next summer be entirely abandoned.” Another sibling, her brother Alfred Cumming (1829–1910), was a frequent correspondent during the 1850s. He had graduated from West Point in 1849 and spent the next decade at army posts scattered throughout the American west. In a letter headed “Mexico” and dated 21 February 1855, Alfred explained the reason he was in such “a wretched country” and described the conditions he experienced. Alfred had been detailed to accompany the party that was to survey part of the boundary with Mexico after the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. The expedition started from San Antonio and Alfred had endured the entire journey westward. Even though the duty was disagreeable, Alfred wrote that “I can return to my tent and, for a time, whistle ‘Jordan is a hard road to travel’ with considerable complacency.” His health had not suffered from the hardships of travel, he informed his sister. “I never have but one cold a year: fat pork I can digest as I would arrow-root, and as for the [Boundary] Commissioner, I am in a position not to be subjected to, or to endure, his fits of ill temper.” In another letter to his sister, this one addressed from “Great Salt Lake City, Utah,” and dated 23 November 1858, Alfred outlined, in 11 ½ pages, his



views on the “Mormon question.” He was one of the soldiers who had traveled west during the winter of 1857–1858 to escort the newly appointed governor of Utah Territory, Alfred Cumming, Alfred’s uncle, and other officials who were to bring order to the Mormon settlements during the so-called “Utah War.” Young Alfred had spent considerable time in conversation with his uncle and had developed a positive opinion of the governor’s effectiveness from those extended discussions. “I do not myself agree with the Gov. on many points,” Alfred informed his sister, “generally resolvable into the single one that I think he puts too much reliance in Mormon faith, but I do think now, as I have ever done, that the general course of his administration is such as to promote the best interest of this country and the Government....”

In early 1859, letters from a new correspondent, a young man obviously interested in more than friendship with Emily Cumming, appear. Harry Hammond (1832–1916), the eldest son of James Henry (1807–1864) and Catherine Fitzsimons Hammond (1814–1896) and a newly appointed professor of Natural Sciences at the University of Georgia, addressed “My Dear Miss Cumming” in a letter written 6 March 1859 from Athens. Hammond was a friend of Emily’s brother Joe [Joseph Bryan Cumming (1836–1922)] who had just announced his engagement to Katharine Jane Hubbell, a young woman from Connecticut whom Joe had met while traveling in Europe in 1857. Hammond claimed that he had told Joe that the young lady was in love with him, a reality confirmed by her agreement to an engagement. “I think that is sufficient to entitle me to a degree as Bachelor of the Art & Science of women’s hearts,” Harry teased in his letter. Near the end of the letter, perhaps as a way to show that his own social life was limited, Harry outlined his typical week: “I Have for the time being something like twelve recitations a week. Besides a walk every evening with the faculty, and a dinner once a week with my uncle, I see no company.” Harry ended his letter with a mild rebuke. “You must spell

Redcliffe [the Hammond family plantation] with a final e,” he reminded Emily. The romance progressed rapidly, if not always smoothly. In an undated letter from the spring of 1859, Harry commiserated with Emily: “My poor Dear Emmy I do feel deeply for you in the melancholy which gives such a tone to your letter. Will it not be a satisfaction to you [to] know that you have all the time my sympathy and that I love you always?” The couple married 22 November 1859 and it was that union that brought together the family papers of the Cummings, Bryans and Hammonds.

Although some of Harry’s letters from the years before his marriage were included in the 1975 gift to the library, the largest number, thirty-three, and certainly the most interesting, were in the latest donation. These letters, the first dated Philadelphia, 23 December 1854, and the last headed Rome, 26 February 1857, detail Harry’s life from his last semester in medical school in Philadelphia through the latter stages of his European odyssey that ended with his return to the United States in October 1857. Tipped onto the stubs of the pages of a bound volume, these travel letters reveal more of the man than of the places he visited, although his observations of European scenes and society were unusually insightful. From the time of his arrival in Liverpool on 25 August 1855, he wrote long—4, 6, or 8 pages—closely-written letters to his parents, usually alternating one to his father with the next to his mother, as frequently as once a week or, occasionally, once a month, and typically filled with witty, succinct word portraits of the people he encountered, from nobles to commoners. The purpose of his trip, to study the agricultural practices of the countries he visited, naturally dictated his itinerary. He toured the rural regions of England, Scotland, France, Germany and Italy, but he also took full advantage of the cities and spent October 1855 through early April 1856 in Paris, where he applied himself to the mastery of the French language and also devoted considerable time to the theater and café society. By late April, Harry was in Bordeaux where he examined the

vineyards in the region and reported to his father, who had his own vineyard at Redcliffe, the French method of planting, cultivating and harvesting grapes. His Bordeaux letters were printed in the *Southern Cultivator*, a popular journal published in Augusta, Georgia. In the editors' introduction to "Vine-Growing in France," they noted the importance for American growers "to know as accurately as possible all the modes of vine growing and wine making in the old countries, especially in France: and the carefully collected, well digested and clearly stated facts of our young friend, form a valuable contribution to this purpose." Harry spent most of May in Toulouse and Lyon, but by the end of the month was back in Paris where he wrote another letter, dated 29 May, to his father. "At the risk of tiring you, I wish to give you a resume...of what I saw from the time I quitted Bordeaux until I reached Paris." After eight more pages of succinct observations of French viniculture in the provinces of Provence, Lanquedoc, and portions of Dauphine and Gascony, Harry informed his father that he had just cashed two drafts of twenty pounds each, drawn on his father. "I will require another 26£ to land me in Germany, and then anticipate living as much below my income as I have lived above it lately."

In early July, Harry was in Dresden, but still absorbed by the vineyards of France. "I propose...in the course of a few days to write an article of several pages on the vineyards of France which I will send to you, and if it meets with your approval I will ask you to have it published in DeBow's Review," he requested. In the same letter, he also reminded his father that he wanted him to send his medical thesis to President James Henley Thornwell, of South Carolina College, "in order that I may obtain some satisfaction about a thing that cost me considerable trouble." He had already decided that he would never practice medicine because, as he related to his father in a letter dated 13 February 1855, while he was still a medical student: "I feel an unconquerable repugnance to

pursue...[medicine] as a profession, not to speak of the melancholy character of the occasions on which the practitioner is daily called to officiate, the sights of horror (for I have already seen such) which he must accustom himself to, or of the arduous labors....” Furthermore, he found that physicians “are and have always been next to the priesthood in pretensions and ignorance.” Perhaps he felt, however, that his medical training had prepared him for an academic position and thought that Dr. Thornwell could assist in that pursuit. Unknown to Harry at the time, his father had submitted some of his letters to the *Edgefield Advertiser*, and at least one, a letter from Glasgow, had been published. More of his letters appeared in *Russell’s Magazine*. Beginning with the August 1857 number and continuing through the March 1858 issue, ten entire letters were printed there. John Russell, the editor, wrote in his introduction: “The portions [previously] omitted are here supplied, and the value of the collection increased, by original letters which have not hitherto appeared.” The editor described the unnamed letter writer as “a young man of distinguished parentage, whose own talents, industry and enthusiasm promise largely to add to the reputation of his name.” Although the letters were not attributed to Hammond in *Russell’s Magazine*, many readers would undoubtedly have learned of their origin by the time Harry returned to South Carolina. In fact, William Gilmore Simms, Harry’s father’s intimate friend, claimed credit for placing the letters. In a letter to Harry, not in this collection, but published in *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms*, and dated 27 March 1858, Simms revealed, “I persuaded your father to let me put your letters into a magazine. I revised them here & there; there was not much of this to do; but some of the sentences were clogged & cumbrous....”

Harry remained in Germany during the fall of 1856 and, in a letter to his mother, written from Dresden on 13 October, outlined his immediate travel

plans. From Cologne, his next stop, he would go “to Munich, thence to Vienna and then into Italy, thus crossing the black forest and going down the Danube.” He reached Venice by late December and spent the rest of the winter and early spring in Italy. From Rome he wrote to his father on 26 February 1857, “Since I last wrote home..., I have visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, I have ascended Vesuvius and gone down into the crater, and I have reached Rome.” His funds, however, were practically exhausted, and he had “something more than £10 in my pocket.” “Every body I meet with is out of money, and I fear unless I get a remittance from home or am able to open a small credit with Green & Co., Paris..., I shall be in the same fix about the end of next month,” he confessed. “I have lived like a gentleman in Europe, but far from extravagantly.” The remainder of his European itinerary took him to Constantinople in May, then through the Aegean Sea to Athens, back to England and Liverpool, where he booked a steamer to Boston, and finally to his family at Redcliffe. Perhaps the most significant impact his European travels had on his future life was the result of a serendipitous meeting with another young American while in Paris. Harry wrote his brother Spann (1834–1921), on 11 October 1855, and mentioned that he had found a café that was “celebrated as a resort of American writers &c in Paris, there too I met & was introduced to Cumming who called on me today (he graduated the class after you).” Joe Cumming had graduated from the University of Georgia in 1854 where he had known Harry’s brother and, after their meeting in Paris, kept in touch with Harry while both were in Europe. He introduced his sister Emily to Harry, probably after Harry returned to Redcliffe from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he spent the fall of 1858 studying in the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard.

Although only a few letters from the Civil War years are present in this addition to the Hammond, Bryan, Cumming Papers, the ones that are included chronicle the painful process of sending brothers and husbands

off to war, and the difficulties of the separations that ensued. Emily Hammond, in a letter to her mother, Julia Cumming, written from Silverton, 29 July [1861], mentioned two of her brothers, Tom (1831–1889) and Harford (1838–1872) who were leaving soon for service in the field. She also mentioned the plans of another brother, Julien (1830–1864), and her husband. “Julien and Mr. Hammond are always talking about going to the wars,” she wrote. “Jule, I think, feels very much the fact that while all his brothers and most of his acquaintances are taking their part in this movement, he is left out completely.” By the fall of 1861, Harry was in service as Assistant Commissary of Subsistence of the 14th Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, with the rank of captain. In a letter to “My Dear Emmy,” written 12 December, and headed Port Royal Ferry, Harry complained about the paucity of details in his wife’s letters. “You do not tell me in your letters all you do and all that happens to you and I must again urge that upon you.” He, on the other hand, detailed all of his activities, even to a description of the “stable,” consisting of “the fly of a tent over a pole,” that he had provided for his horse, Cappel. “The wind sprung up last night and drove the mosquitoes away—the same wind that I have just heard carried that terrible fire across Charleston,” he continued. “This fire...has I fear destroyed our commissary stores which were on Cumberland street; if so I may have to go to Savannah soon.” From Redcliffe, his mother wrote, on 16 January 1862, and conveyed family news. “Your Father becomes more inactive....He reads the paper & talks about the war, his cabbage bed is his chief interest & pleasure.” Her impatience at her husband’s inability to make decisions about plantation matters also was evident in her letter: “A feather in his path will deter any movement with him; I could do it all in one day if he would allow me.” Three letters from Harry to Emily from Tomotley, South Carolina, dated 27 January, 20 February and 27 March, document Harry’s efforts to obtain a furlough, arrange a meeting with Emily in Charleston in late January, and

resign from his position with the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment. He sent in his resignation, dated 24 March, but as of the 27<sup>th</sup>, he had “heard nothing yet from my resignation.” Shortly thereafter, he left the Pocataligo area where he had been stationed since his enlistment, and returned home to his wife and young daughter, Julia (1860–1935). Harry wanted a position on General Maxcy Gregg’s staff, and offered his services as a volunteer aid-de-camp; however, Secretary of War George W. Randolph did not sign his commission as Brigade Quartermaster of Gregg’s Brigade, with the rank of major, effective from 11 October, until 6 November 1862. His service with Gregg was brief: the general was wounded during the Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and died 15 December 1862. Hammond continued to serve with the same brigade, after January 1863 commanded by Brigadier General Samuel McGowan, until the end of the war. Although there are no letters from Harry after he joined the Army of Northern Virginia in this addition to the family papers, it is clear from letters in the larger Hammond, Bryan, Cumming Collection that Harry was in Virginia at the time of his father’s death on 13 November 1864. Harry sent in his letter of resignation after James Henry Hammond died, but it was not accepted and he remained with his brigade until the surrender at Appomattox, with the exception of a brief visit home that lasted from late December 1864 through January 1865.

When Harry returned to Redcliffe from the war, he not only had responsibility for his wife and child but also assumed, along with his brother Paul, the support of his widowed mother and the supervision of his father’s estate. A diary from 1866, in which Harry noted his planting schedule, confirms that the rhythms of agriculture quickly resumed at the Hammond plantations, although on a much smaller scale than before the war. On 22 February, Harry had “sowed tomatoes & lettuce in hotbed and planted 2<sup>nd</sup> time green peas.” On the 28<sup>th</sup>, he “planted six beds English onion seed and five rows corn.” He continued to plant garden vegetables

at intervals until 4 April when he planted sweet potatoes “and a few rows of cotton.” The next day, “All Hands planting cotton in a dry warm spell,” and then on 12 April, “finished planting cotton.” In the same diary, under “Cash Account, October,” Harry entered the wages paid to Jesse, Rose, Griffin, and Jack for “picking cotton.” Another diary, this one for 1868, continues to document Harry’s efforts to make the Hammond lands productive with the use of free labor. On 6 January, Harry recorded, “All my hands having refused my offer of 1/3 of the crop and they to feed themselves [,] I ordered them to evacuate their quarters.” Harry’s entry for Wednesday, 15 January, illustrated the difficulty in securing laborers: “have returned from 4 mile where I had been since Monday trying to hire hands—could hire none but 2 white men and didn’t take them. Hands have all hired or leased land.” Harry, however, was forced to hire workers when he needed them for specific tasks and pay them wages. On 20 February, he “Engaged some hands to pick cotton in Mill Field,” and on the same day, “Three young white men there [at the plantation] to hire [,] didn’t hire them.” He also observed, “How the poor whites are swarming out (natives, too) since freedom.” Even with his makeshift labor system, he had “Picked to date [28 November 1868] 18,609 lbs. cotton.”

The correspondence in the collection from the 1870s continues to focus on family members and family news, but with only a letter or two from any individual within a typical year; however, there is one long series of letters, fifty-nine in number, over a period of three years, from a single writer, DeRosset Lamar (1842–1886), Julia A. Cumming’s son-in-law. Lamar, the son of Gazaway Bugg Lamar, a wealthy banker with Savannah and New York business interests, and his wife Harriet Cazenore Lamar, married Maria Bryan Cumming in 1863. When Maria died in childbirth in 1873, she left three young children who remained in the care of Julia Cumming, their grandmother. Lamar wrote from New York on 8 September 1874 of his father’s critical illness, and three days later, in another letter, informed



Julia, "Father's condition remains substantially the same, varied only by the usual fluctuations of a very serious illness." In his next letter, written 11 October from New York, DeRosset reported that he had just returned from Alexandria, Virginia, where his father, who had died 5 October, had been buried. He also wrote about the search for his father's most recent will, only a draft of which had been found, and by which "fifty thousand dollars would have been settled on my children...." In the meantime, "we are living in the midst of wealth which we cannot use," he lamented and requested Julia to "make such shift as you can for the children, until I am in a position to aid you & relieve you." His own future was unclear—"the drudgery connected with the settlement of the estate will fall upon me, the amount eventually to be realized is uncertain and its very settlement may afford occasion and opportunity for forming a permanent business connection here or elsewhere...." In his letter of 6 November, Lamar wrote of his "bitter disappointment to find out that Father's purposed provision of a trust estate for the children was never perfected...." Lamar struggled with poor health, lack of ready funds, the complications of the tangled business affairs of his father's estate, the prosecution of several lawsuits against the United States and its agents for compensation for cotton seized in 1865 from his father, and the long-term separation from his children, but he wrote long and frequent letters to Julia Cumming. In a letter of 7 April 1876, he explained to his mother-in-law, "my heart delights to honor as the Mother now almost longest known—for in all respects, how strangely has my wife's family been substituted in the places of my own." He shared, in his letter of 1 May 1876, the news of the United States Supreme Court's decision that "effectively disposes of the suit against the Treasury Agents and the question of the effect of its ruling upon the case against the Treasury's Secretary, McCulloch, are waiting Mr. Dickerson's leisure to be investigated." Subsequent letters detail the issues of the lawsuits as they

were litigated, decided, and appealed. He informed Julia, in his letter dated 29 May 1876, “my Executorial affairs progress satisfactorily, but without important change.” There was also an effort underway to force the government to return the books and papers seized from his father in 1865 when his father was jailed on suspicion of involvement in President Lincoln’s assassination. “I learn that cousin L.Q.C. [Lamar] is quietly at work, at last, seeking the restoration by the War and Treasury Depts. of Father’s long-withheld books and papers—but these have been so much mutilated and so many of the more valuable, conveniently lost or mislaid, that the remainder are of small consequence, save as the books of correspondence are serviceable for corroborative evidence....” Even before Julia Cumming’s death in 1879, correspondence between the two ceased, probably because of Mrs. Cumming’s declining health. Lamar, however, wrote one later letter, dated 18 February 1880, in an effort to secure a pier mirror, unintentionally sold with Mrs. Cumming’s town house, for his sister-in-law, Emily Hammond. Maria, Lamar’s late wife, had claimed the mirror when “Mrs. Cumming abandoned her town-house, about the year 1872,” but DeRosset wanted Emily to have it because of “its long association with her mother’s family life.”

In late February 1881, Harry Hammond accompanied his daughter Julia to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she planned to take courses at Harvard Annex, a private institution designed for female students, but with classes taught by members of the Harvard faculty. In only its second year of operation when Julia enrolled in March 1881, the Annex, officially designated the “Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women,” was headed by Arthur Gilman, and eventually evolved into Radcliffe College. Even though Harry was familiar with Boston and Cambridge as a result of the time he spent studying at Harvard in 1858, he confessed in a letter to “Dear Emmy,” dated 2 March 1881, “every thing changed here as elsewhere so much so that I declined at first to get out at the hotel

[Tremont House, Boston] thinking the coachman had made some mistake.” Harry quickly got his bearings and was off to Cambridge to see Arthur Gilman. “Mr. Gilman,” Harry wrote his wife on 4 March, “lives in a very nice pleasant house in every way looking like that belonging to a man of letters. He received me pleasantly quietly simply & went at once to business.” When Harry returned, he “found that Julia had made no end of new acquaintances....She had three or four cards on her table & [a] beautiful bunch of flowers among them[,] a heliotrope which she says is the first thing she has smelt since she left home.” Julia, however, did not continue her classes after the end of the spring semester, and returned to Redcliffe after a brief trip to Newport, Rhode Island in June. Julia never ventured far from Redcliffe again, preferring instead to remain at home, look after her parents and read. In a letter to her mother, away on a trip to New York at the time, written 19 May 1885, Julia described the activities of all who remained at home and noted that “I myself have just finished Adam Bede...” She judged the book a failure, “inartistic & lacking in that subtle touch of reality that never fails to find an answering chord in the reader’s heart.” She also confessed that she sometimes felt that “books, mere black ink & Kaolin stiffened rags, may become a fetish to me.”

Katharine Fitzsimons Hammond (1867–1925), Julia’s sister, however, decided to pursue a career in nursing and, as a result, entered the nurses training program at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, in March 1893. In a letter to her mother, dated 25 March 1893 from “Nurses Home, J.[ohns] H.[opkins] H.[ospital],” she wrote: “I had such a fine letter from Father this morning—thank him for me please, and tell him it cheered me up lots.” In another letter, written 11 June 1893, after Katharine had settled into her daily routine, she informed her mother, “you know I don’t mind work, and I don’t mind this work at all,” and even the “pain and suffering” she witnessed was part of life. In the same letter, she asked her mother, “Do you ever think that it is a little strange that I never have heard

anything from the Halstead[s]? Does Grandmother [Hammond] ever mention [them]?" Katharine Hammond's cousin, Caroline Hampton, had worked as a nurse at Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1889 and there met Dr. William S. Halsted whom she married in June 1890. Apparently, there had been no communication from Caroline during the three months Katharine had been in Baltimore. Katharine's grandmother, Catherine Elizabeth Fitzsimons and Caroline's grandmother, Ann Fitzsimons, were sisters, and even though James Henry Hammond and Wade Hampton II, their respective husbands, were brothers-in-law, there was a rupture in their relationship when Hampton learned that Hammond had taken liberties with his young daughters in the early 1840s. The rift between the families, however, was eventually healed and, at the time of Catherine E. Hammond's death in March 1896, Kate Hampton, one of the Hampton daughters who had been involved in the improper conduct with her uncle, wrote letters of condolence to both Katharine and Harry Hammond. In her letter to Katharine, Kate recalled "the old days of close communion & deep love with her, [that] all come rushing into my heart & while feeling so saddened by her death, all those we have lost, with whom she was associated seem to come to me." To Harry, in a letter dated 6 April 1896, Kate extolled her aunt's virtues: "So wise & yet so modest, so strong & yet so gentle, so retiring & yet so full of that wonderful influence which made her a power in every community, so supremely humble & yet so divinely devout."

Harry Hammond was sixty-three years old at the time of his mother's death, and even though he lived another twenty years, the letters and papers in this collection begin to focus increasingly on the next generation of Hammonds at Redcliffe, Harry and Emily's children. Julia, the eldest child, continued a long-term correspondence with William W. Woolsey (1843–1909), a man seventeen years her senior, who had proposed marriage to her after the death of his first wife. After receiving a letter from

Woolsey relating the death of a child in his family, Julia responded with a note, apparently never mailed, "Poor little Ethel, but there are many things worse than death; perhaps to grow to be a woman." In another unsent letter to Woolsey, Julia described her daily routine at Redcliffe: "The dawn (which you are one of the few of my friends capable of enjoying with me) sees me out of doors ready to welcome it. Then the urgent needs of feathered & four footed friends that are so delightful to minister to, then the not so hungry humans to be satisfied, the old house smoothed out & decorated from the garden, the quiet hours all too swiftly passing with the dear books about you." Letters from Woolsey, filled with family news, but with few personal references to Julia, always addressed as "Dear Friend," continue with regularity, twenty-six altogether, until May 1903. Another suitor, James P. (Jim) Richards (ca. 1868–1934), wanted to marry Julia and proposed to her in 1908. He wrote from Augusta on 15 August 1908 to "My Own Darling" and repeated a conversation he had just had with his mother who had asked him "what was the matter [?]" "I told her that Henry & your mother objected to our getting married[,] that Henry got mad and went off for a week," he wrote. "I leave my fate and life in your hands to obey and do anything you agree on," Jim concluded. In an undated letter to "My dear Jimmie," Julia urged her would-be husband "to marry some sweet young woman of a suitable age for you." Such a request, she assured Jim, was "not unselfish..., for it is the one thing that will make my life possible. Don't feel badly about me, I have my dear Mother & my good Brother & then I will have the great comfort of thinking of you leading a normal whole some life." Julia's mother continued in good health until shortly before her death on 4 September 1911. On 30 July 1911, Emily wrote a note thanking her son Kit for a ride in his automobile the previous day, even though it had cost \$40 to repair the car after a blowout. "You know the Tyre broke on my side & I am *almost persuaded* it was my extra weight!" Only a few weeks after her mother's death, Julia married, on 28

September, Jim Richards, and they lived together at Redcliffe until his death in 1934.

Of the other children of Harry and Emily, only Kit remained near the family home in Aiken County. He and his brothers Henry C. and Alfred were involved with the development of the Kathwood Manufacturing Company, a family business that specialized in the production of cottonseed oil, but also ginned cotton and ground cornmeal. Henry served as company president, but because he worked in Augusta as an attorney, Kit, as manager, and Alf, as superintendent, actually operated the mill. The Hammonds, however, sold their interest in the company to the Southern Oil Mill in 1901, but Kit and Alf continued to work for the new company for a short time. Kit had also purchased land from his parents in 1902 that included Cathwood, previously known as Cedar Grove, a plantation that Catherine Fitzsimons brought to her marriage to James Henry Hammond in 1831. Henry C. Hammond, in a letter to his brother Kit, dated 23 December 1903, attempted to clarify some misconceptions that Kit had about the terms of the sale. In exchange for the plantation, Kit had given "one note for \$5,000 payable on Oct. 1, 1902, and ten notes each for the sum of \$1950 payable one each year for the succeeding ten years." Even though Kit had paid \$20,000, plus 6% interest for the property, Henry pointed out, "according to your own figures...that outside the real estate there was personal property of the value of \$9,398.41, making the price of the land \$10,601.59." In 1911, Kit apparently sold some of the property, Bluff plantation, to J.H. Skinner and with the money he received paid off his notes on the land he retained. Henry, in a letter dated 15 February 1911, congratulated his brother on his recent transaction. "As we see things to-day I am inclined to believe that you have made a good sale, but however that may be you have a comfortable house and a considerable tract of land free of all encumbrances and well equipped for farming purposes. You have worked hard and lived right and you are entitled to a

fair share of the pleasures and joys of this life which is all any of us should look for," he concluded. In 1914, Kit mortgaged his property in Aiken County, totaling 1,413 acres, for \$5,000, an amount he was able to repay on 4 November 1916, thus satisfying the note.

Kit Hammond married Mary Gwynn (1876–1962), on 16 September 1903, soon after he purchased Cathwood plantation. Mary taught at the Downer School that had opened in 1899 on a tract of ten acres that Harry Hammond had sold as the site for a new school. Kit's bride was the daughter of Andrew Jackson Gwynn (1836–1908) and his wife Marie Louise Keene (1838–1912), both Maryland natives who had settled in Spartanburg, South Carolina, after the Civil War. The Gwynns were active Catholics and were among the first communicants of St. Paul's Catholic Church, established in 1883. In a letter to his daughter Mary, dated 22 December 1907, Andrew J. Gwynn mentioned Mary and Kit's third child, Louise Keene Hammond (1907–1998): "Well dear Mary, how are you & the Baby? We hope you are both well & give Kit but little trouble—is he fond of walking the baby at night?" Mary and Kit's family continued to increase and by 1919 they were the parents of eight children. Emily Cumming (1904–2007), James Henry (Harry) (b. 1905), Katharine Fitzsimmons (1909–1992), Christopher Cashel Fitzsimmons (Chris) (1912–2011), Andrew Keene Gwynn (1915–1945), Mary Gwynn (1917–2010), and Julian Bryan (1919–1997) completed the family.

At the time of their father's death in 1916, Harry's five children each received \$2,000 from his \$10,000 life insurance policy. Julia, jointly with her brother Henry C. Hammond, purchased Redcliffe for \$8,000.00, an amount that was to be paid to the other heirs within twelve months. The estate, according to a letter Henry C. Hammond wrote to his siblings on 20 March 1916, just after Harry's death, consisted of very little other than the life insurance and Redcliffe. "Father left no personal effects except his books and papers....These are at Redcliffe and are at your disposal," he

informed his brothers and sisters. Perhaps it was at this time that some of the family papers were divided among Harry's children. If not in 1916, perhaps the division occurred in 1935, after Julia's death and before Redcliffe was sold to John Shaw Billings by his uncle Henry C. Hammond, who had been joint owner with Julia. It is certain that a portion of the collection ended up in the attic at Cathwood and remained there until the house was sold about 1975.

Katharine Fitzsimons Hammond, as her cousin Caroline Hampton Halsted had done before her, met a young physician at Johns Hopkins Hospital and married him a few years later. John Sedgwick Billings (1869–1928) had earned his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1892 and was serving his residency at Johns Hopkins Hospital when he met his future wife. The couple, married in 1897, became the parents of three sons: John Shaw (1898–1975), James Henry Hammond (1901–1985), and Julian Cumming (1904–1906). Although the Billings family lived in New York City, Katharine and her sons were frequent visitors at Redcliffe during the early years of the twentieth century; she to escape an unhappy marriage, and the boys to enjoy the pleasures of life in the country. In March 1925, Katharine, then living at 1160 Fifth Avenue, New York City, received a letter written by her brother Henry C. Hammond. He sent a copy of the letter to each sibling and, in a cryptic warning, cautioned them that the “very important matter which I want to call to your attention in an entirely confidential way, not to be mentioned outside of ourselves. Perhaps you had better destroy” the letter, he wrote. He had opened a bank box at the Union Savings Bank in Augusta “in your names as well as my own” and had placed “certain personal property” there. “I have written your names on the different documents so that each of you need do anything more than put the property hereby given you and walk off with it.” The envelopes probably contained the final distribution of the assets of the Harry Hammond estate for Henry gave, as his reason for the secretive



distribution, "I am guarding against the hellish outrages of public officers, through whose hands all our property has to pass." Katharine died suddenly on 6 July 1925 at Woodstock, New York, before she had an opportunity to visit the Union Savings Bank. Both Julia and Kit lived near Augusta, and Alfred lived in Columbia, close enough to claim their property from the bank box.

Kit Hammond was interested in diversifying his farming operations in the early 1920s, perhaps because of the uncertainty of planting cotton during a time when the boll weevil was ravaging the cotton fields of South Carolina, and low cotton prices made it difficult to break even. He reacquired the property of the Kathwood Manufacturing Company when the Southern Cotton Oil Company went into receivership in 1924. For \$7,500, Kit purchased 200 acres of land "with the mill site, fixtures and improvements" as well as a small parcel of land, "known as the Clay Bed," situated nearby on Hollow Creek. In anticipation of operating the cotton gin and gristmill that remained at the site, and perhaps modernizing the power generating plant, Kit had corresponded with H.H. White, the sales engineer for The James Leffel & Co., manufacturers of turbine water wheels, in Atlanta, in the spring of 1924. The engineer's report indicated that the three "Smith" wheels then in place could generate 168 horsepower, while the gin and gristmill required only a total of 57 horsepower to operate both. Although Kit had indicated that he wanted to utilize the full potential of the water source, the engineer pointed out that "you have nothing to use the power for excepting the gin and [grist] mill and possibly [you] will put in a wood working plant." In fact, the machinery in the plant was probably not changed at all at the time, even though there were new fen stocks constructed in 1926. There is in the collection a five-page paper titled "A Thesis on Water Power Development at Kathwood, South Carolina," written by Christopher F. Hammond, Jr., dated 22 April 1933, for a civil engineering class he was taking, probably

while a student at Georgia Tech. He described the location of the site used for generating power, as "On Hollow Creek, twelve miles from the city of Augusta, Ga.," and mentioned that a canal still in use there had been constructed "in the years 1839-'43...." "The site consists of two lakes..., one primarily for flood control and the other for power purposes," he continued. That the machinery had not been modernized since Kit acquired the mill in 1924 is clearly shown by young Hammond's description of the equipment in use. "Three S. Morgan Smith turbines are placed in twin pits, each pit ten feet by ten feet," he noted. "These turbines are rated at 150 h.p., 100 h.p. and 12 h.p., respectively." The larger turbines powered the gin and gristmill, while the smaller one "drives a 3500 watt generator to supply lights to the plant." The mill apparently continued in operation until at least the beginning of World War II.

Kit Hammond was also interested in increasing his income through mining the clay deposits on his property. In 1922, he enlisted the aid of F.H.H. Calhoun, professor of geology at Clemson College, in an effort to interest the Atlanta Terra Cotta Company in purchasing clay from his property in the production of their architectural terra cotta. Harold B. Wey, the company's vice president and general manager, wrote Professor Calhoun about a specimen of "Hammond clay" that had been tested, but that did not meet the company's standards "as it seemed to show a good many surface cracks." Mr. Wey also reported that a sample of "cobalt" clay from a mine near "Cathwood, S.C.," owned by J.C. Lamar, had been tested with favorable results but, since the company's practice was "to purchase their clays loaded on cars and not to own and mine the properties, and Lamar wanted "to sell us the deposit," the company would go no "further into the question." In August 1925, Kit took out an option to purchase the Bowden Clay mine, owned by J.C. Lamar who, in a letter to Kit dated 26 August 1925, urged the completion of the sale with the assurance, "there isn't going to be any trouble about selling this clay for

the demand is growing every day....” He also argued that selling clay “is more attractive than trying to grow cotton or farming, and there is more money in it.”

By the mid-1920s, Kit and Mary’s older children had reached college age and the parents encouraged their children to continue their educations. Emily graduated from Goucher College, in Baltimore, prepared for medical school at the University of Georgia, and in 1927, graduated from the Medical College of Georgia, only the second woman to earn an M.D. from that institution. After a brief stint at Johns Hopkins Hospital, she moved to an isolated community in rural Anne Arundel County, Maryland, where she established a medical practice in 1929 that she continued for more than fifty years. In April 1932, she became the first of Kit and Mary’s offspring to marry when she and John Fletcher Wilson (1885–1952) wed. Louise Keene Hammond, the second daughter, graduated from the University of Georgia, traveled in Europe during the summer of 1928 and, for seven years, was the secretary to the President of the University of Georgia. She worked in Washington, D.C., as an administrative assistant in the Office of Price Administration and, on 29 November 1943, joined the American International Underwriters Corporation, also in Washington, as administrative secretary to the company’s manager, where she ended her career about 1960 and returned to South Carolina. The third daughter, Katharine Fitzsimons Hammond, attended St. Genevieve’s School in Asheville, North Carolina, for one year, and then finished her high school education at Tubman High School in Augusta. She then attended Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., studied law at National University, Washington, D.C., where she received her Bachelors of Laws degree in June 1931 and was admitted to the South Carolina Bar in 1932. She immediately pursued the ancient French Spoliation claims first asserted by her ancestor

Christopher Fitzsimons, who had lost property during the quasi-war with France (1798–1800). On 1 October 1932, W. Huger FitzSimons, Katharine's cousin who had also taken an interest in the matter when he was a young attorney, responded to Katharine's enquiry of 27 September. His conclusion, after researching the issue in the 1880s, was that "while the claim is intrinsically meritorious I regard it as hopeless because I do not believe the necessary papers to prove it will ever be found...." Katharine lived with her parents at Kathwood until her marriage, on 5 September 1936, to James Calvin Suber (1907–1948) and never practiced law. Mary Gwynn Hammond, the youngest daughter, entered in the fall of 1936 the Georgetown Visitation Convent, a college preparatory school for young women founded in 1799, and located in Washington, D.C. While there, Mary was near her sister Dr. Emily Wilson, at Lothian, Maryland, and her brother Keene, who had entered the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, the year before. Emily invited her to "come over any week end you can" in a letter dated 25 September 1936. Mary's Uncle Henry, in a letter written 26 September, encouraged his niece "to see the wonderful sights in the national capitol." He also noted, "John and Frederica [Billings] are here and enjoying Redcliffe which is truly beautiful." Another letter from Henry, written in late January 1937, commented on Mary's recently received letter recounting President Roosevelt's inaugural parade that she had witnessed and Keene had marched in with the Naval Academy midshipmen. Apparently Mary had also mentioned an interest that she had in pursuing a legal career. Henry advised her to "forget about law and be a lady." She also learned, from a letter her mother wrote in March 1937, of the family's financial difficulties. "We rented out the mill...you know, for \$150 per month, but U[n]cle Henry has so far, anyway, never turned a cent of the money over....Well it is no use to go into details, [but] the thing is we have no cash income but my insurance money." But, in her next letter, her mother confessed, "I must

take back what I said about U. Henry because a check arrived this morning for one month's rent of the mill." Uncle Henry also sent small sums to his niece from time to time. In a March 1937 letter to Mary, Henry, after giving the family news, ended by writing that he had sent "a little enclosure for your diversion." And again in a letter of 8 May, he mentioned, "I enclose your birthday present and a little on the side." In all of her letters to Mary during the spring of 1937, her mother kept her up-to-date with local news. She mentioned, in her letter of 16 April, a recent visit from the Billingses. "John & Frederica are very cordial and are crazy about Harry [Mary's brother], who is working for them. Redcliffe looks mighty pretty inside & they have begun on the outside now. There is a fence all around & they are trimming up the flower garden etc." The event that filled most of the letters to Mary was her 3 June graduation from Georgetown Visitation Convent. Both Mary and her cousin, Christine Catherine Gwynn, from Greenville, South Carolina, were members of the Junior College graduating class of 1937. After a trip to Canada in July with her Uncle Keene Gwynn, and several of her siblings, Mary returned to Kathwood, and remained there to help her parents.

Letters from Mary's siblings appear occasionally in the collection. Keene, after his graduation from the Naval Academy, was assigned to the U.S.S. *Saratoga*. He wrote Mary on 18 July 1938 from Bremerton, Washington, and described his life aboard ship: "We're leaving tomorrow for San Pedro. From there we'll go out to fire Short Range Battle Practice. I'm a battery officer (in command of three 5 inch anti-aircraft guns) so I'll be pretty busy for the next couple of weeks." Julian was in college at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., where, according to his letter to Mary, dated 31 March 1939, he was having trouble adjusting to college life. "It is extremely difficult for me to find anyone whom I desire to have as a friend," he confessed. "Most of the people with whom I come into contact are extremely small and mean...." Chris, according to a letter from their

mother to Mary, written in April 1937, had settled in Savannah, found a girl, Libby, that he was “crazy” about, and seemed “interested in his work & determined to make a ‘go’ of it.”

By 1940, with the possibility of American involvement in the European war increasing, the Hammond offspring found that new opportunities for work were available in places far away from home. Louise, for example, applied for a job in Washington, D.C., and was notified by a telegram dated 12 October 1940 of her appointment as a junior stenographer in the Rural Electrification Administration. In a letter to Louise, written in late November 1940, after she had moved to Washington, her mother wished her well on her birthday and thanked her for having always “been such a comfort and always so thoughtful [and] I pray that life holds much of happiness in store for you, even if it does seem a little delayed.” She also mentioned Julian, who she thought might “get out of the military unit on account of his asthma. I hope he will be able to go back to school.” Keene met and, on 10 March 1942, married Elizabeth Manning Courtney of Mobile, Alabama. Mary moved to Charleston in 1942 where she first worked at Fort Moultrie on Sullivan’s Island as a secretary and, later, in the Fort Sumter Hotel, which had been taken over by the military for office space. By the summer of 1943, she was working in Miami, but returned to Charleston by the fall and got a job at the Charleston Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company. Her brother Julian, now a Second Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps, wrote her from the Marine Corps Aviation Base in San Diego, California on 27 July, with news of a recent visit he had made to Kathwood. Her mother wrote her on “D Day” [6 June 1944]: “I have lived on the beaches of France today! It is wonderful but dreadful, isn’t it? I thank God that we are fortunate so far, with four boys from the family in the service, but none are in this invasion. But every mother feels for other mothers, wives and sweethearts.” In December 1944, Mary left

her job in Charleston and returned to Kathwood and continued her correspondence with several soldiers, Lieutenant Blanton Fortson and Major Henry J. Heffernan, the most frequent. Occasional letters from her brothers, Julian and Keene, both in the Pacific theater conveyed only general news because of the strict censorship in place. In January 1945, the family received notice from the Navy Department that Lieutenant Commander Keene Gwynn Hammond had been killed in action. He died 6 January while leading a squadron of F6F Hellcats from the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Essex* in an attack on Japanese targets near the Philippine town of Vigan. His plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire and it broke apart when Hammond attempted a water landing. Lieutenant Commander Hammond was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross with citation, posthumously, for "heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial flight as Commanding Officer of a Fighting Squadron operating from a U.S. Carrier, during action against enemy Japanese forces in the Philippine Islands area" in November 1944. First Lieutenant Julian B. Hammond returned safely from the Pacific theater where he had served as a bombardier-navigator with Marine Bomber Squadron 443 from April to August 1945. He also received the Distinguished Flying Cross in June 1946, for combat flights in the Bismarck Archipelago area. After the war, he worked as an insurance underwriter in New York City.

On 17 October 1946, Christopher Cashel Fitzsimons Hammond died at Kathwood, at age 76. Mary Gwynn Hammond, his widow, continued to live in the family home until her death on 12 January 1962.

The collection also includes deeds, receipts, checks, plats, genealogical records, newspaper clippings, and family photographs. A scrapbook of clippings represents Mary Gwynn Hammond's brother, The Reverend Andrew Keene Gwynn (1878–1953), rector of St. Mary's Catholic Church in Greenville, South Carolina, and details an ongoing discussion in the public press about Catholic beliefs, 1900–1914.

Photographs documenting Father Gwynn's trip to Switzerland ca. 1907 are also present. **Gift of Mr. Christopher H. Bruce.**

HAMPTON FAMILY PAPERS,  
1831–1932, 1981 and undated

The large collection of Hampton family papers housed in the South Caroliniana Library naturally focuses on the three Wade Hamptons (I, 1754–1835; II, 1790–1858; III, 1818–1901) because of their individual accomplishments and influence in state and national affairs from the time of the American Revolution until the last decade of the nineteenth century. Other members of the Hampton family, also important historically, are less well represented in the family papers. As the result of the gift of a significant collection of correspondence and documents, some 430 items, the planting activities of Christopher FitzSimons (Kit) Hampton (1821–1886), the second son of Wade Hampton II, in South Carolina and Mississippi, are now documented. In addition, the collection includes correspondence from and to the children of Frank Hampton (1829–1863), Wade Hampton II's youngest son, and his wife, Sarah Strong (Sally) Baxter (1833–1862)—Frank, Jr. (1856–1926), Lucy (1859–1932), and Caroline (1861–1922)—that details their lives in the half-century between the 1870s and 1920s.

Most of the family papers from the antebellum period are business related—accounts, bills, receipts—and document Christopher F. Hampton's financial transactions. The two earliest items in the collection, however, are from the papers of Kit's grandfather, Wade Hampton I. The first, a letter directed to General Hampton at Houmas, near Donaldsonville, Louisiana, was sent by N. & J. Dick & Co., dated New Orleans, 24 October 1831, and noted a draft drawn in Hampton's favor for one thousand dollars, and indicated that one dozen bottles of "London particular Madeira" had been shipped to Hampton on board the steamboat *Planter*. The second item, a document dated 31 December 1832, was a



statement from the New York City merchants, Goodhue & Co., that showed the General had a cash balance of \$107,988.84 on the company's books. The first receipts to Kit appear in 1843 at the time he married Mary Elizabeth McCord (1821–1848) and set up his own household. A year later, the couple's only child, Anne Fitzsimons Hampton (1844–1878), was born. In the summer of 1843, Kit probably either enlarged a portion of Millwood, his father's residence, or built a house for himself on the property. A receipt from M. Crawford, for \$77.00 for "hawling Lumber" from 13 June until 5 July, and another, from Richard Holmes for \$37.20 for making "4 Large Blinds" and "4 Sashes of 18 Lights," indicate that Hampton was creating accommodations for his family. Other receipts reflect the ordinary expenses of running a household. Hampton purchased from Joel Stevenson in 1847 a "Green Cloth Jacket, 3 pr. Cotton Drawers, 2 pr. Col[ored] Kid Gloves, [and] Wh[ite] Buck Gloves"; from Glaze & Radcliffe in 1848, "1 Set Fish Soups, 1 Braclete, 1 Hunting Knife, 1 Powder flask, [and] caps"; and from R.E. Russell in 1850, "10 Live oaks in Pots, 10 small magnolia grandeflora in Pots, [and] 6 Pyramidal cypus [cypress]." Another bill, this one from Robert W. Gibbes, M.D., covered professional visits from July 1847 through January 1848 and reveals the course of Mary Hampton's last illness. In the fall, Dr. Gibbes made numerous visits to Mrs. Hampton at Millwood, and in November and December 1847 and January 1848 he made frequent trips "to Mrs. H. at St. Matthews," where she was under her mother's care during the months before she died on 17 February 1848.

After his wife's death, Kit spent much of his time in Washington County, Mississippi, where the Hamptons owned plantations. In fact Wade Hampton II and his son Wade III had purchased large tracts of rich cotton lands in Washington and Issaquena counties, along the Mississippi delta north of Vicksburg in the mid-1840s. In 1847, Wade II purchased an established plantation, Linden, located on Lake Washington, and turned it

over to Christopher. The Hamptons generally spent the winters on their Mississippi plantations, returning to South Carolina after supervising spring planting. Linden proved to be very productive, as the dozens of receipts for cotton sales in the collection demonstrate. Hampton harvested his first cotton crop in the fall of 1848, and shipped 50 bales by river steamer down to New Orleans where his agent, Hill McLean & Company, sold the cotton on 14 October, at 5½ cents per pound, for a total of \$1,108.22. Forty-nine bales followed in late October, another 50 in November, and a final shipment of 52 bales reached New Orleans in January 1849. His agent's account for July 1848–January 1849 shows some of the costs of setting up his plantation. In August he purchased two cotton gins and also paid \$191.00 for transportation of “Negroes [.] Sheep &c from Charleston 10 Nov. 1848.” In December 1853, Hampton shipped from Linden plantation 600 bales of cotton that sold in New Orleans on 29 December for \$20,094.29.

Although few pre-Civil war letters are preserved in the collection, there are three from William Pinkney Starke, Kit Hampton's close friend from his days at South Carolina College. Starke (ca. 1822–1886) graduated with an A.B. degree in 1842, a year after Hampton had earned his, and the friendship established in college continued for many years. In a letter dated 4 June 1842, Charleston, Starke praised the “writings of Swedenborg” and challenged Hampton to “approach the examination of this subject in a spirit of inquiry after *truth*....You have been bred up under prejudices against the views I entertain,” Starke continued, “and in addition have only examined arguments maintaining your positions.” A decade later, Starke, who had studied and practiced law in the years after his graduation from college, announced to Hampton, in a letter written from Melvin Hill, near Hamburg, South Carolina, 8 June 1853, “I have become a planter in these latter days and am much pleased with the manner of life. There is a freedom about it, not to be found in a

professional career...” On 18 August 1857, Starke addressed Hampton, who was spending the summer at Newport, Rhode Island, as “My only Friend” in a letter written from Fulton, South Carolina. “I feel hot and envious—hot of the sun and envious of your sea-breezes and mid-day dips at New Port.” He also informed Hampton, “I am arranging the sale of my plantation here with all my goods & chattels. I am not in love with the place and would be glad to shake off the dust and so forth...” A letter from P[hilos] B. Tyler, superintendent of the American Machine Works, Springfield, Massachusetts, dated 15 July 1860, to C.F. Hampton, Columbia, described the progress on the fabrication of “your Engine & machinery....” The company also provided “the drawings for Gin House & saw mill” and the buildings would require only six weeks to complete “if you have work force enough to spare. I will also send to New Orleans by Steamship, such parts of the machinery, as will enable him [the mason] to lay nearly all the brickwork for the engine & boilers, so thus there need be only six or ten days work after the boilers arrive.” Other letters from the period to Hampton are business-related.

A few letters from members of the Baxter family given to Lucy Hampton sometime after the deaths of her parents, Frank and Sally Baxter Hampton, by her mother’s sister, Lucy Wainwright Baxter (1836–1922), are also included in the collection. George Baxter, Sally’s father, wrote a letter from Columbia, dated 11 March 1854, to his wife, Anna, who remained at home in New York while he and other members of the family visited South Carolina. “We are more & more pleased with this place, it is well termed the garden of the South. Every house has its garden & shrubbery, & the houses, cottage style, & all in good order.” He mentioned a visit to the “famous garden belonging to Mrs. Wade Hampton” where “we saw under glass, the Sugar Cane and Banana & Figs & orange all bearing fruit.” He also reported, “the family wealth is very great” and the “House is

very large & the whole appearance is remarkable for its elegant & aristocratic bearing.” His daughter Sally, he continued, “is dead to penetrate the sanctum—but I fancy without special letters, their aristocratic shell is too hard to be broken. They eschew all society but the Planters—as tho’ growing cotton was any better than selling it.” Sally was able to breach the shell of one aristocratic Hampton; in 1855, she and Frank were married. Her life, however, was short and she died 10 September 1862. A letter in the collection, dated 6 October 1862, was addressed to “My dear Lucy” [Lucy W. Baxter], from “H.B.” [H. Bunch], who wrote: “I felt as if I had so much to tell you of our dear Sally with whom I had been on such intimate terms for many months before her death. I cannot tell you how dearly both Mrs. Bunch and I loved her, and what intense admiration we as well as all who knew her had for her. She certainly knew the secret of winning all hearts; and then she was so beautiful that it was pleasure enough to sit and look at her.” Mr. Bunch praised “the most tender and devoted care” she received from her sister-in-law, Caroline Hampton. “Miss Caroline never left her by day or night and was the sweetest and gentlest of nurses, she became so necessary to Sally’s comfort and happiness that she could not bear her to leave her room....” An eighteen-page manuscript in the collection chronicles the effort of Lucy Baxter and her father, George, to reach Sally in Columbia before her death. Published in the July 1953 issue of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* as “Through the Union Lines into the Confederacy,” the narrative describes the Baxters’ hazardous night crossing of the Potomac River and tedious journey through Virginia.

There is no additional correspondence in the collection until the 1880s when letters written by Lucy Hampton (1859–1932) begin to appear. The first item, however, is a printed form from the Baltimore Art Society, dated 8 March 1882, to “Miss Hampton” with the notice that “your Satin Pieces have been this day duly examined by the Committee on Admissions, and

declined as not being up to the standard of Society work.” A letter, headed Columbia and dated 6 October 1886, written to “Dear Aunt Lu” [Lucy W. Baxter] by Lucy Hampton described the reaction at home to her sister Caroline’s decision to prepare for a career in nursing by training at a New York hospital. Lucy confided, “I knew about her intending to go if she got the chance...since... last spring, so it did not come upon me as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. I knew Aunties w’d make the devil of a row & that Frank w’dn’t be much better, but I didn’t think for all that that C. was bound to stay at home all her life....” Beginning with her 14 March 1888 letter to her Aunt Lu, Lucy Hampton headed her letters “Millwood,” rather than Columbia, because the Hampton aunts—Kate, Ann, and Caroline—had build a house on the Millwood property. “We began [moving] before the house was finished & the things were put in all the wrong places. The painter is still in Frank’s room & mine & we are temporarily established. I had also spread carpets in Aunties’ rooms, so things were comfortable if not perfect,” she wrote. Lucy’s letter to her aunt, written 29 April 1888, related Caroline Hampton’s “pleasant little visit....” Apparently Caroline loved animals as much as her sister Lucy did. “C[aroline] likes the colt & the puppies very much,” Lucy informed her aunt. “The colt is a spoilt little rascal already. We visit him every day, sometimes twice, & he puts on a great many airs, pretending he is cross or distrustful.”

1890 was an eventful year for Caroline and Lucy Hampton. While Caroline worked as a nurse at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, she met the noted surgeon Dr. William S. Halsted. On 4 June 1890 Caroline and Dr. Halsted were married at Millwood, and after a honeymoon trip to the Hampton property in Cashiers Valley, North Carolina, the couple returned to Baltimore. In July 1890 Lucy and her cousin Daisy, the daughter of Wade Hampton III, sailed from New York on a European adventure. They landed at Glasgow on 23 July and planned to spend the

remainder of the year touring the British Isles and the Continent. Present in the collection is a letter of introduction from Charles S. Venable, professor of mathematics at the University of Virginia, dated 15 October 1890, to "My dear old Comrade," Major Justus Scheibert of Berlin, Germany. "My near Friends, Miss Mary Hampton and Miss Lucy Hampton of South Carolina, daughters of General Wade Hampton and of the late Colonel Frank Hampton [respectively] of the dear old Army of Northern Virginia expect to spend several months in Berlin during their stay in Europe." Major Scheibert, as a young officer in the Prussian army, had been detailed to observe, first hand, the Civil War, arrived in America in 1863, spent time attached to General Robert E. Lee's staff, and became acquainted with Venable who was one of Lee's staff officers. Scheibert, upon his return to Germany, wrote about military topics and was considered an expert on the cavalry operations of the Army of Northern Virginia. Mrs. Venable, in a letter to Lucy written on 16 October, described Major Scheiber as one of her husband's "best friends." "His admiration of Gen. Lee & the A.N.V. is not surpassed by any Southerners, and the daughters of soldiers will be cordially received."

Once back home from her travels, Lucy resumed her regular letters, always filled with news of the family, to her Aunt Lu in Boston. She wrote, on 19 May 1891, of the recent visit of Caroline and "Dr. Halsted" that lasted for six weeks. During their time at Millwood, "Columbia has had a great to-do over her Centennial. Dr. Halsted thinks, I think, that this sort of thing is a sort of spring fever that we break out into....It is an entirely new departure & reveals a new side of human nature to him. He looks at it most critically thro' his specs, a fact that I didn't fail to rally him upon." Her letter writing, she complained, had been interrupted numerous times: "Frank wanting targets & ink & paint brushes & Uncle Wade toddies & novels...." Lucy and her Hampton aunts spent part of the summer of 1891 at the Hampton family lodge in Cashiers Valley. Her aunt Lucy Baxter had also

visited during the summer and Caroline and William Halsted were in residence for part of the season. Lucy provided the current news to her Aunt Lu in a letter dated 1 September. She mentioned the “consecration of the chapel,” and the effort underway to raise money for a church bell. “Dr. Halsted is going to look at bells in Balt[imore] & says he will open a subscription list there & make his friends contribute.” She also mentioned her “kinsfolk, i.e., Uncle Wade & Daisy, Heloise & McDuffie [Hampton], John Haskell & his three boys” who had written “vaguely” about plans “to see us this month—don’t say when or for how long.” The Hampton summer home at Cashiers had been in the family since the 1840s when Wade II and his sons Wade III and Christopher purchased more than 2,000 acres and built a hunting lodge there. This estate continued to be a favorite gathering place for the family, even after Colonel Hampton’s daughters sold the property to Dr. Halsted after his marriage to their niece, Caroline. The Hampton sisters, accompanied by Lucy Hampton, continued to spend summers there. In a letter to her Aunt Lu, written from Cashiers on 3 September 1895, Lucy recounted her recent activities. “I am photographing now with energy when the sun consents to lend his countenance to that pursuit. They are just taken about the place for fun & for practice. I don’t know how late Aunties are going to stay here,” she commented, we “may go down this month early, or any time till the end of Oct.” Lucy also observed, “John Haskell left yesterday. He seemed quite regretful at the end of his holiday.” John Cheves Haskell (1842–1906) had married in 1865 Sally Hampton, daughter of Wade Hampton III and Margaret Preston Hampton. Sally died in 1886, leaving four children. John and his children were frequent visitors at Millwood and Cashiers, and he and Lucy developed a romantic relationship in the early 1890s. Frank Hampton, Lucy’s brother, in response to a letter she had written from Cashiers announcing her engagement to John Haskell, wrote her from Millwood on 28 July 1895: “Your letter came this afternoon & to say that it

was a surprise is putting it mildly. I hope you will be just as happy as any one can be & he seems very fond of you." A friend, however, expressed some concern about the planned wedding in her letter to Lucy, dated 16 December 1895. "I can hardly picture you a *stepmother*," Ms. Tweed wrote from Florence Italy, "& think it is a great risk. I would have liked to have heard you were marrying a younger man [Haskell was 54 and Lucy 37 when they married in 1896] & yr. first love but you know best & most earnestly do I wish you every happiness...."

Frank Hampton wrote frequently to his sister Lucy and to his Aunt Lucy, and many of those letters are present in the collection. He typically wrote his sister about Millwood happenings while she was away at Cashiers during the late summer. In a letter dated 9 September 1892, Frank noted, "I am putting in a barn of tobacco now but it won't be a full one. I can't say yet how that venture will turn out." Frank married Gertrude Gonzales early in 1895, and the two honeymooned in Florida. From Jacksonville, Frank wrote his sister "Lu," on 15 January, mentioned the very warm weather and remarked, "it ought to make the fish bite & if I can hear any reports of tarpon in reach I will try them any way." He closed with: "Don't think I can ever forget you dear Lu or that any one can take your place. Gertrude is very dear to me but so are you." In a letter from Millwood, written 12 September 1895, Frank informed his sister, "I began work on my house today & the builder promises it...in three or four weeks if I keep him in materials. I am pretty well pushed up just now what with the mill & getting in my crop, cutting hay &c. My tobacco crop is a failure again." Frank and Gertrude quickly filled the new "Woodlands" with children—Frank in 1896, Harry R.E. in 1897, twins Gertrude and Lucy in 1898, and Ambrose in 1900. Frank's wife died soon after the birth of Ambrose, and Frank was left alone with five young children. Lucy Baxter, in a letter to Lucy Haskell, written 18 January 1903, commented on Frank's recent move to Charleston where he accepted a position as chemist with the Charleston



Cotton Oil Refining Company: "I am so truly glad that he is pleased & satisfied with his change of work, which must go far to reconcile him to leaving Woodlands, & all the old house associations." On 22 November, Lucy Baxter wrote to Frank thanking him for his recent letter with news of his children. She also expressed the hope "you will [be]...interested in the Thackeray Letters, for I think they will give you a better idea of the home where your mother was the center of all things, loved and admired, than any thing else could do." Lucy had gathered the letters William Makepeace Thackeray had written to the Baxters in the 1850s, edited them, prepared an introduction, and submitted the manuscript to the *Century Magazine*. The manuscript was serialized (1903–1904) and then published as a separate volume titled *Thackeray's Letters to An American Family* in 1904. In her letter to Frank, she lamented, "there are hardly any of [your mother's] letters in the collection, for they were all burned by your Grandfather...at the request she made before her death." She enclosed a check for Frank and announced that "I also want to deposit a like sum \$50 for each of your children to gather a little interest until they are older."

The Hampton sisters—Kate, Ann, and Caroline—continued to make their annual pilgrimage to Cashiers as long as their health permitted. Even after Caroline's death in 1902, Kate and Ann enjoyed the cooler climate of "The Valley" in the summer. Kate wrote "Lulie" Haskell on 5 June 1906, "Ann enjoys being here, I think...." Caroline Halsted was there that summer and had presented Kate with "the most beautiful supply of stationery & a beautiful sort of portfolio" and had "for Ann a lot of yarn & needles to knit various things for the children which will interest her. Certainly, we are the best cared for people in the world." Kate also continued her interest in the welfare of the mountain people and maintained connections with many of the families in the valley. Virginia Mitchell, the teacher at the school for the children of the community,

located near the entrance to the Hampton property, in a letter written 3 December 1906, responded to one from Kate, inquiring about her pupils: "The two little Alexanders come all that distance faithfully. Caroline is as faithful as ever, and the Watsons and McCalls. The children of the Dilliard and Hawkins families do not come, but I did not expect them. However, if I can teach the rest of the children a few extra months, it is well worth while."

The Hampton sisters lived in a house on the Haskell property, Hawkswood, east of Columbia, after their home at Millwood burned in 1899. When John Haskell died in June 1909, he left all of his property to his wife, Lucy, and son Preston H. Haskell. John, in his will, dated 10 September 1907, directed that Lucy was to have "my dwelling and contents to be occupied by her as a home so long as she desires...." He also mentioned an adjoining tract of land, the "Romanstine Place," that he had purchased "with a part of a certain sum of money held by me but coming from certain property owned by...[Lucy] and amounting to near twice as much as paid for the place, the balance I borrowed from her and have never repaid yet." A year after John's death, the 1910 census listed his widow, aged 50, two nieces, twins Gertrude and Lucy Hampton, aged 11, and a nephew, Ambrose aged 9, living at Hawkswood. Lucy's aunts, Kate, 85, and Ann, 83, lived in a separate dwelling on the property. Ann died in 1914 and Kate in 1916.

Another generation of correspondents appears in the collection in the 1910s and 1920s. Eight letters from Lucy B. Hampton written in October 1917 to her Aunt Lucy Haskell after she and her sister Gertrude entered Converse College in Spartanburg detail the trials and tribulations of their freshman year. Lucy's nephew, Frank Hampton, Jr., wrote from Fort Monroe, Virginia, on 19 May 1918, with news of his experiences as a fledgling soldier preparing for service overseas. "We have been drilling on some of the newest model Howitzers. They are about the most up to date guns we have here and are just like the ones used on the Western front

now.” And Lucy Haskell continued to provide family news to her sister Caroline and brother-in-law William Halsted in Baltimore. In a letter to William, dated 17 July 1920, she commented on the activities of her nieces and nephews. “The girls [Gertrude and Lucy] are in Pulaski, Va., not very far from Bristol where we used to go. It’s in a mtn. Country & cool. The girls seem to be enjoying it.” Ambrose was at a summer camp at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. “He does well at college & camp work. It’s a pity he has so much trouble with his eyes when he is the only intellectual one of the boys—interested in his studies & doing well at them. Ambrose wants to go west after he has graduated & get work out there. He is a nice child.” “Young Frank,” she continued, “seems to be determined to stick to the rural life, but he thinks sometimes of a ‘job.’ But it has to be here, so he will not be cut off from farm entirely.” Lucy also thanked William for an invitation to High Hampton later that summer. “The girls want to go to the tennis tournament in Asheville in Aug...& if it suits you after that we might come up for 2 weeks or so,” she concluded.

The deaths of Dr. William S. Halsted on 7 September and Caroline, his wife, on 27 November 1922 in Baltimore left Lucy Haskell and Frank Hampton, Caroline’s only heirs, the owners of High Hampton as well as other assets left by the Halsteds. In the final administration account of the estate of Caroline Hampton Halsted, prepared by Samuel J. Crowe, administrator, Caroline’s siblings received securities, furniture, china, jewelry, and silver valued at over \$22,000. Much of the furniture, however, had been donated to Johns Hopkins University, according to the terms of an agreement Lucy and Frank signed 22 March 1923. The furnishings thus given were from the study, library and several other rooms in the house. Rather than keep the property in Cashiers Valley, Lucy and Frank decided to sell the entire tract, including the High Hampton Lodge and other buildings. They also indicated to Dr. Crowe of Johns Hopkins University their wish to give one-half of the proceeds of the sale to the

university. Johns Hopkins' president Frank J. Goodnow, in a letter dated 18 December 1923, accepted their "very generous offer" on behalf of the Board of Trustees and indicated that the money, when received, would go to the "fund which bears Dr. Halsted's name, the income of which under his Will is to be devoted to research in surgery." E.L. McKee, owner of Sylva Tanning Company, of Sylva, North Carolina, agreed to buy the estate for "some \$20,000.00." The sale did not go smoothly, however. The initial problem concerned Dr. Halsted's dahlia garden. Lucy Haskell asked Mr. McKee if he would allow Dr. Halsted's sisters to have some of the bulbs. McKee replied, in his letter of 7 November, "I was told that after Dr. Halstead's death, under the direction of Mrs. Halstead, the bulbs were taken up and distributed to different parties in Cashiers Valley...." McKee attempted "to secure every bulb possible as I wished to re-establish the dahlia garden at High Hampton," and he promised to send Mrs. Haskell a supply of bulbs reclaimed from the valley folks. He also invited Mrs. Haskell and any other Hamptons to visit High Hampton at any time. "We desire that you feel just as much at home there as previously," he concluded. By early 1925 McKee's gracious attitude changed dramatically. Victor C. Barringer, the husband of Frank Hampton's daughter Gertrude, wrote McKee on 16 February 1925 and offered him the right to purchase the furniture the family had not taken from the lodge. "Your letter offering me the refusal of the furniture came as a surprise," McKee responded on 18 February, "but I was willing to pay a nominal sum to satisfy you and to settle the matter for good feeling of all." McKee also asserted, "it has been my pleasure to show your family every courtesy possible but I have felt for some time an attitude of something like resentment toward me...." Lucy Haskell replied to McKee with a conciliatory letter, dated 21 February: "I am sorry if you have any reason to feel there is any 'resentment' in our attitude. I hope that both you & Mr. [Frank] Hampton may be satisfied with the settlement & I thank you for the

kindnesses you have shown.”

Perhaps as a result of the disposal of the North Carolina property, Lucy and Frank also attempted to untangle the claims of various Hampton kin to tracts of family land at Millwood and Woodlands. Columbia attorney David W. Robinson explained in a letter to Lucy Haskell, dated 8 December 1925, “you will note...that if our figures are correct as to the amount of property owned by your family[,] the total acreage would be about 1800 acres, whereas the tax returns show 584.6 acres.” Before the property questions could be sorted out, Frank Hampton died on 28 May 1926. David Robinson continued to work out the details of ownership and by December 1926, had carved out parcels of property, assigned each parcel to an owner, and had plats drawn illustrating actual ownership. Victor Barringer, in a letter to Lucy Haskell, dated 2 December 1926, indicated that questions about acreage owned still existed. “You will note,” he wrote, “that your title will cover 800 acres of land where there is only approximately 425 acres on the tax books....” Lucy continued to reside at Hawkswood, a place she had mentioned in a 1925 letter, as “too large a house & too many furnishings for my strength & means.” In 1930, she was listed in the census as a seventy-year-old widow with her niece, Lucy Hampton, aged thirty, living with her. She remained an active correspondent, however, with a strong interest in family matters. A letter from Dr. William G. MacCullum, of Johns Hopkins University, dated 28 May 1929, thanked Mrs. Haskell for providing photographs of her mother, Lucy Baxter Hampton, and the “High Hampton house” for use in his biography of Dr. Halsted. The book appeared the next year and was titled *William Stewart Halsted, Surgeon*. After her niece Lucy married in September 1930, Mrs. Haskell moved to Sumter where she resided with her other niece, Gertrude Barringer, until her death on 22 February 1932.

The collection also includes eleven photographs depicting scenes at High Hampton, and other places. Scattered pages from several unidenti-

fied manuscripts are present in the collection. **Gift of Dr. Roy Talbert, Jr.**

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**Two letters**, 18 July 1898 and undated, of Spanish-American War soldier Arthur Lavern Borden, a private attached to Co. I, 16th Pennsylvania Volunteers, document the young man's observations of and interaction with Southerners while awaiting deployment.

The letter of 18 July [18]98 was written from Charleston, South Carolina, to his younger sister, Miss Mabel E. Borden, and references his commitment to the temperance ideals advocated by the Royal Templars of Temperance, an organization with which Borden was affiliated, suggesting that canteens serving alcoholic beverages to soldiers "are not conducive to the best physical results of...warriors." Borden complains in particular of the insobriety and profanity of fellow Royal Templar Charles Crosby, a member of the same regiment, whose lodge membership Borden argued should be revoked. And, the letter reports, when Borden had searched for a local Royal Templars of Temperance lodge, he had found the secretary of the Charleston Council headquartered at the local Y.M.C.A.

Noting that he had paid two dollars to have a cabinet photograph made, Borden applauds the patriotic fervor of the residents of Charleston, who had supplemented food for the troops: "the town has taken upon itself [to] furnish us with fresh meat and potatoes. They are very kind and we appreciate it very much....But it is very humiliating to be in the care of so rich a Gov[ernment] as the U.S. and then be compelled to rely on the hospitality of the people we were once at war with." The letter quotes from a newspaper account expressing public indignation "over the march given the soldiers last Saturday," concluding with the statement: "Public sentiment will not tolerate ill treatment of the volunteers—and if there has been such brutality and neglect as claimed the people will be heard from."

Borden speculates that the army was training volunteers for the rigors of service in Puerto Rico. The transatlantic steamer *Mobile* was at dock and had been loaded with the wagons and provisions for horses and mules of the 16th Pennsylvania by hundreds of Negro dock workers aided by two cranes. The writer notes that white men overseeing the work “rip[p]ed, swore & tore” at the African Americans so much that it made soldiers watching on the docks declare the workers should “break their necks & throw them into the bay.”

The remnant of a second letter (only pages 9–18 survive) of earlier date mentions a march to Ringgold, Georgia, and rail transportation though Atlanta and on to Charleston, with reference to the enthusiasm exhibited by people en route throughout both states. It also complains of debauchery among volunteers at canteens in Chickamauga, with arrests by the provost guard. While in South Carolina only state dispensaries could sell intoxicating liquors, “there are an awful lot of them,” and there were yet more speakeasy establishments or “Blind Pigs.”

Borden liked Charleston more than Chickamauga “because we are on the Sea Coast & under a good roof with a good dry floor for a bed.” He thought the port city had the “best water...I have struck since leaving ‘Pensy’ [Pennsylvania], rain water boiled and filtered that came out of the pipes “hot enough to wash dishes with. We have [a] large barrel half full of ice to cool it off & it makes number one water.” Pastimes included going to the docks at night to hear “the darkies sing us songs,” and some volunteers were touring Fort Sumter at a price of fifty cents each.

A resident of Sheffield, Pennsylvania, Borden was mustered in 16 June 1898 and died 12 October 1898 while hospitalized in Puerto Rico.

**Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Hendrik Booraem and Mr. John W. Foster.**

**Letter**, 9 February 1831, signed S. Boykin and datelined Sandhills but postmarked Camden, South Carolina, is addressed to Stephen D. Miller,

of Stateburg, South Carolina, and presumably was penned by Samuel Boykin (1795–1835) whose sister Mary Whitaker Boykin married Stephen Decatur Miller.

Boykin acknowledges having received a letter from Miller regarding the identity of the author of “the old Planter which lately appeared in the Camden Journal.” Speculating that the writer was actually Jo[seph] Mickle, Boykin adds, “the old gentleman has become quite fond of late of seeing his writing in print.”

The correspondent further agrees to accommodate Miller’s request for a \$5,000 loan with which “to lift a note you have in the United States Bank” despite the fact that “All the loose change the Estate will have in possession this year I expect to lay out in negroes.” The mill, he advises, would begin sawing plank for Miller’s boat the following day, and “Mack...appears to be very anxious to commence building.” Boykin notes that he would talk further with Miller “about my taking charge of your planting interest during your absence.” Miller’s term as governor of South Carolina ended 1 December 1830. Elected to the U.S. Senate, Miller’s upcoming absence refers to his service in the U.S. Congress, a term that began 4 March 1831 and ended 2 March 1833, when he resigned due to ill health. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Duncan McIntyre.**

***Printed manuscript***, 30 November 1864, circular letter issued by the Confederate States of America, Forage District of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida is signed in print by Geo[rge] W. Grice, Major and Quartermaster, Columbia, South Carolina, and addressed “To the Planters of South Carolina.” It addresses the urgency of the time as the invading Federal army neared the state, indicating that grain sacks would be provided to citizens, that tithe officers were prepared to receive tithes of corn, and that agents were ready to receive and pay for surplus beyond the tithe.



In part, the text reads: "The enemy in their retreat through Georgia having severed all railroad communication with Southwestern Georgia, the largest grain producing section of that State, from which we have been gathering large quantities of corn, the armies in Virginia and at and near Charleston are for the present dependent upon South Carolina for their supplies of this indispensable commodity, and I appeal to you, Planters of Carolina, to come promptly to their aid with an ample supply of corn.

"The emergency is great. What you do must be done without delay; and I conjure you, by every consideration of patriotism, of duty, of present hopes and future expectations, as you value all that men hold dear, to put aside every other occupation and devote yourselves and your resources to supplying those gallant self-sacrificing and defiant armies with the supplies necessary for their support, efficiency, and usefulness....

"Shuck, shell, sack, and deliver at depots, all over the State, every pound of corn you can possibly spare, and thus prove to the country and the world that Carolinians will never falter in the cause of the Confederacy, and that the enemy, by their destruction of supplies and cutting of railways in their retreat through Georgia, have only determined a brave people to make extra exertions to successfully baffle all their designs." **Acquired through the William A. Foran Memorial Fund.**

***Bible***, 1841, containing records of the births, deaths, and marriages of enslaved African Americans presumably owned by Thomas Jones Davies (1830–1902) augments the South Caroliniana Library's existing holdings of papers documenting this planter's activities in South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi.

The vital statistics contained within the Bible span the years 1830 to 1865 and record eighty-two births, thirty-six deaths, and eleven marriages—all of enslaved individuals. Locations in South Carolina mentioned in the records include "Malvern" and "Gardner's Swamp Plantation" in Beech Island and "Swamp Place" near Hamburg. Other

locations include “Cherry Hill” and “Waldburg” in Burke County, Georgia and “Edgefield” and “Barnwell” in Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Examples of entries recording births include: “Chloe, daughter of Judy and Simon (owned by Samuel Clarke, Esq.) was born February 14<sup>th</sup>, St. Valentine’s Day at my Swamp Place, 1857,” and “Eliza, daughter of Robert & Martha, born at Barnwell June 10<sup>th</sup> 1860. The first child born on the plantation.”

Some of the records of deaths are quite extensive and describe not only the slave’s death, but also give a brief history of the subject’s life. Examples include:

On the night of January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1856 at the late residence of W.W. Starke, Esq., Dinah, mother of Peter. Her age was remarkable. She was owned by M.C. Hammond, Esq., and sold with others to W.H. Baldy, Esq., and by him, allowed to live with me in 1850. Since then she has had her freedom, having been a child of my grandmother’s and hence my attention to her in the decline of her life. She was probably ninety years of age. Was buried at Malvern. Died of pneumonia and old age.

Isaac Gardner, aged about forty-eight, was killed by the night train to Charleston in December 1856. He had been to Hamburg frolicking and is supposed to have been drunk. He was found dead under the track on the following day. He was without exception the most industrious negro I ever knew and almost invaluable on a plantation. He leaves no family save a young wife. Died Tuesday morning, January 5<sup>th</sup> 1858 at Malvern, Caesar, the oldest and best of all my father’s negroes living at that time. He was constantly a faithful and dutiful servant and above all my negroes the most reliable. I felt deeply and sincerely attached to this old man. His age was near seventy. Died of disease of the heart—was found dead in his bed at Malvern.

Arch—aged about 65, died at Malvern, November 1<sup>st</sup> 1863. He was a slave of Tho. W. Davies and received a wound crushing his ankle coming out from Mississippi—a fugitive from the accursed Yankees. The wagon wheel passed over his ankle breaking it.

According to outside sources, Thomas Jones Davies was born at “Summer Hill,” a property in South Carolina across the Savannah River from Augusta, Georgia. He served as a staff officer in the Confederate States Army and helped develop the kaolin mining industry in Aiken County after the Civil War. After his death he was buried in the Hammond family cemetery in Beech Island near his brother-in-law, James Henry Hammond. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Caroline LeConte Gibbes, Mrs. Sarah Gibbes, and Mrs. Conrad Sanders, and through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

**Letter**, 21 August 1801, written from Charleston by Henry William DeSaussure (1763–1839) to Charles Harris (1772–1827) in Savannah, Georgia, attempts to discourage certain clients of Harris from going forward with an intended lawsuit. DeSaussure notes that “the statement of the case which you have given briefly but clearly, shews so much lacker, that I fear it will be difficult to make the endorser liable.” He goes on to explain that before the “establishment of banks here, much latitude was allowed, but latterly we have adopted & acted a good deal on the English rules of due diligence,” and once these were “vigorously applied...the suitors could have little chance of success.” DeSaussure concludes his letter by suggesting that “perhaps the offer of a liberal compromise may induce an amicable Settlement.” **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Ben F. Hornsby, Jr.**

**Manuscript volume**, 25 June 1812–4 October 1813, letter book with contemporary copies of approximately one hundred eighty letters written by William Drayton (1776–1846) as lieutenant colonel of the Tenth Regiment, United States Infantry and Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment,

United States Infantry commanding the harbors of Charleston and Georgetown. Most of the letters were written from Fort Moultrie, located on Sullivan's Island, and Fort Johnson, located on James Island, and discuss routine military matters including inspection and distribution of arms and armaments, securing provisions for troops, and recruitment of soldiers.

Much of Drayton's work was directed toward defending the city of Charleston against a potential attack by the British, and the poor state of the fortifications guarding the city's harbor were a particular concern. In a letter of 26 June 1812, written to a Lieutenant William of the U.S. Engineers, he lamented that Castle Pinckney (a small masonry fortification located on Shute's Folly Island) was "in such a State, that in case of an Attack upon it, he would not be able to fire a single Gun." This was due to the fact that the "Platform of the Upper Battery was too narrow by three or four feet, and the ascent from the Edge of the Parapet so insufficient, that at the third or fourth fire, Every Gun would be carried by recoil into the area of the Fort." In addition to inadequate firing platforms, Drayton also found issue with the fort's magazine, which "in consequence of the continual Dropping of water from its walls, [was] not in a Situation to receive Powder." Similarly, on 29 August 1812, Drayton wrote to a Major Swift of the U.S. Engineers complaining that at Fort Johnson the "waves rush with so much violence against the Raft-barrack within the works as to endanger the building and...that unless some immediate measures are taken to secure it, the gales usually prevailing in September may destroy the whole of the works." He went on to enquire whether the "Palmetto logs at Fort Johnson intended for the Battery" might be used to repair the barracks.

Another of Drayton's chief priorities was to devise a way for the harbor's defenders to differentiate between friendly and hostile ships. On 2 July 1812 Drayton wrote to Major General [Thomas] Pinckney (1750–1828)

and complained that it was “impossible to Distinguish between a hostile and friendly vessel” since it was customary “for Every Ship to be furnished with the Colours of almost all Nations.” To remedy this, Drayton proposed that “private Signals ought to be established between the Forts and the United States’ Ships.” This plan was evidently adopted, for on 23 August 1812 Drayton wrote to the “Collector of the Port of Charleston” explaining that it was the “duty of the commandant of every Fort in this Harbor to bring to all armed vessels entering or attempting to enter it, unless they exhibit some private signals shewing that they are either United States Ships or belonging to American citizens.” He went on to explain that since this would necessitate the “stopping of every Privateer, which would occasion much trouble & useless expenditure of ammunition” perhaps a “particular signal might designate a Private armed Ship belonging to citizens of the United States, or each owner of a Privateer might hoist his particular signal.” Drayton concluded by asking the collector to obtain from each owner or captain “a drawing of his signal together with a description of it in writing” and then forward these along to him.

Drayton also devoted a large portion of his correspondence to disciplinary action taken against soldiers and deserters. On 14 July 1812 he reported to Pinckney that he had been forced to sentence a private in “Captain Armstead’s Company of Artillerists” who had been convicted of desertion to “hard labour for two months with a Ball & Chain attached to his leg.” Writing to a Major Boote on 21 March 1813, Drayton passed along the information that “Captain Wilson commanding at Fort Johnson is desirous that a fifer in his Company named Gold, should be discharged from the service” because he was a “most incorrigible thief.” The letter went on to state that Gold was frequently caught “stealing the provisions of the men while they were on duty and exchanging them with the Market-Women near the Garrison for fruit Cakes &c,” that he had been “detected Stealing money from the men,” and that when he was sent to

purchase milk “he stole a Watch & procured Milk on the Credit of Major Read and Kept the Money.”

Other notable correspondents represented in the letter book include Brigadier General [Thomas Humphrey] Cushing (1755–1822), Captain John Herbert Dent (1782–1823), South Carolina governor Henry Middleton (1770–1846), and Inspector General Alexander Smyth (1765–1830).

William Drayton was born in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1776, attended preparatory schools in England, and in 1790 settled in Charleston, where he practiced law. He served in the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1806–1808, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1825–1833. Drayton moved to Philadelphia in 1833 where he died in 1846. He is interred in Laurel Hill Cemetery. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

***Two manuscript volumes***, 1969 and 1970, document the role played by William Price Fox, an Illinois-born writer who was reared in South Carolina and is best remembered for his short stories and novels, in the production of *Cold Turkey*, a 1971 satirical comedy film starring a number of comedic actors well-known at that time to American television audiences. The United Artists International film was produced and directed by Norman Lear, who collaborated with William Price Fox on the screen story based on the novel *I'm Giving Them Up for Good* by Margaret and Neil Rau.

The earlier of the two volumes is a final draft, with one hundred forty-one laid in photographs, while the subsequent volume is a combined continuity transcript for *Cold Turkey*. Internal evidence suggests that the earlier volume had belonged to Chuck Murray and Karen Murray, who are identified in the staff and crew list as account and payroll clerk respectively. In addition to the photographic stills from the film, the volume contains a shooting schedule, with revisions, a 24 February 1971 letter

from Norman Lear inviting the Murrays to a Hollywood screening of the film, and an autographed photo of leading man Dick Van Dyke.

Filed in 1969, *Cold Turkey* was not released until 1971 due to concerns about its box office potential. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Jennings Owens II, Miss Ellen Schlaefter, and Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr.**

**Manuscript**, 18 June 1862, printed blank, signed Jno. B. Fraser, First Lieutenant, Artillery, acknowledging receipt of ordnance and ordnance stores from "Gen. G.N. Evans, Comma[ndin]g Troops at James Island," South Carolina, including Enfield rifles and bayonets, Springfield rifles, percussion muskets, muskets altered from flint to percussion, cartridge boxes, cavalry saddles, and bayonet scabbards, all "captured from the Enemy."

Nathan George "Shanks" Evans (1824–1868) was a captain in the 2nd United States Cavalry who became a brigadier general in the Confederate States Army. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. John H. Boineau.**

**Manuscript volume**, 1847–1851, account book documenting the sale of property of Lewis Holmes (1781–1847), deceased, on 11 January 1848, together with the "Sale of the Negroes," naming slaves and purchasers and indicating sale price. Also found within the volume are mathematics rules and calculations titled "Miss Eliza Holmes' CIPHERING Book at Miss Hext's School 1847."

A resident of Edgefield District, South Carolina, Lewis Holmes died 3 November 1847. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Charles A. Gibbs.**

**Manuscript**, undated, "De Lady in De Window," short story, signed Zach McGhee, Columbia, South Carolina, written in African-American dialect. McGhee (1872–1911), a native of Cokesbury, South Carolina, worked as a journalist but is best remembered as the author of *The Dark*

Corner (1908). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. S. Taylor Garnett and Mrs. Donald H. Holland.**

*Two manuscripts*, 25 February 1884 and 16 October 1897, relating to attorney, jurist, and Confederate brigadier general Samuel McGowan include his 1884 letter, written from Abbeville, South Carolina, addressing an unidentified member of the judiciary, presumably a colleague on the South Carolina Supreme Court on which McGowan served from 1879 to 1893. In the letter of 25 February, McGowan briefly references African-American Republican political leader David Augustus Straker before turning his attention to violent weather that recently had hit the Palmetto State. Of Straker he wrote, "I suppose that *Straker* will change his good opinion of the court, and conclude that there is '*no use talking.*' By the way, he is a sharp man, and made some *nice points*: but we cant think of splitting hairs in such a case!"

Storm cells in several South Carolina counties produced unusually severe tornado activity on 19 February 1884. Writing of the storms, McGowan said, "I am glad none of the Cyclones struck you. We also mercifully escaped, but there were *two* in our county, *one* on the Anderson border and the other on the Edgefield line. The latter was nearer to me, some seven miles off. I heard the roaring, and went out on my piazza, and distinctly saw the cloud and heard the roaring *moving along like a train of cars*, or like the continuous roaring of low thunder!"

"The whole thing is a wonderful phenomenon, and shows how *frail* is our hold upon life. There must have been some unusual disturbance in the elements on that day....It was not one storm or parts of the same. There were at least *five* in the state, between 5 o'clock in the evening & 10 at night. There was *one* in Anderson extending through Pickens & Greenville & branching off to the upper part of Laurens, *one* in the lower part of Abbeville, passing 96 & going into Newberry & possibly Union. *One* in Spartanburg, & Chester. *One* in Barnwell extending into Clarendon, and a



separate *one* at Darlington. The storms all went the same way from *South West* to *North East*. They ran *parallel with the coast line* and seem to have died out in North Carolina, as we have not heard of them beyond *Rockingham*.”

Dating from 1897, an extract from the proceedings of the Court of Common Pleas of Laurens County, Judge James Aldrich, presiding, is a tribute of respect memorializing Samuel McGowan. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

**Printed manuscript**, undated, broadside: “Sailors! While you are in the Port of Charleston come to the Mariners’ Church. In the Chapel at the Sailors’ Home, No. 44 and 46 Market Street. Seats Free at all Services.”

Announcing services, temperance meetings, and social events throughout the week, the mid-nineteenth-century broadsheet notes that reading rooms in the Sailors’ Home were open throughout the day and evening—“One especially for Scandinavians.” Although Sunday morning services were not offered in the English language, “the Chapel is freely offered for services in any foreign language.”

Signed in print by the Rev. C.E. Chichester, chaplain, and H.G. Cordes, superintendent of the Sailors’ Home. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

**Newspaper extra**, November 1869, “Montgomery Advertiser— Extra,” contains two articles, “The Charleston Phosphates” and “About Hogs—The Best Breeds” taken from the *Rural Carolinian*, a Charleston agricultural journal that began in October 1869. The former describes the phosphate beds in the South Carolina lowcountry as “one of the most wonderful deposits of the remains of extinct animals in the world.” However, the writer admits that “interesting as these deposits are in their scientific and speculative aspects...it is more to our purpose to show that we have here the means of renovating all the poor, worn out lands of South Carolina, and adding hundreds of millions to the wealth of the State, than to wax eloquent over immense shark’s teeth, gigantic vertebræ, and

ponderous maxillaries.” The article goes on to list companies which have already begun to harvest the phosphates for their use as fertilizers, including the Charleston Phosphate Mining and Manufacturing Company, the Wando Mining and Manufacturing Company, the Ashley Phosphate Mining Company, the Sulphuric Acid and Superphosphate Company, and the Pacific Guano Company. Also included in the article are engravings illustrating the “Wando Phosphate Mines on Ashley River” and the “Sulphuric Acid and Superphosphate Works on Cooper River.”

The article about hogs describes two breeds, the “Land Pike Hog” and the “Essex Hog.” The author notes that the former will be easily recognized, “though...by a different name from the one by which we introduce him,” and that this hog “cannot be starved when there is forage to be had anywhere.” He goes on to claim that “if you want...a hog that no fence can stop, a hog that will rove, root and plunder, kill chickens and fight dogs, this rough, big-boned, thin backed, slab-sided, long-legged and long-nosed fellow is just the thing you are looking for...but if you wish to make pork, and make pork pay, the more of these land pikes you have the worse off you are.” The Essex hogs, he notes, are “small boned, and their flesh has a fine flavor. They are hardy, mature early and can be fattened at any age.”

Also included in this extra are “opinions of the press” about the *Rural Carolinian* and an article entitled “David Dickson and Improved Farming.” **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Emily Bailey, Dr. Don H. Doyle, Dr. Marjorie Spruill, and Mr. Sam Howell.**

**Sixty manuscripts**, 14 February 1943—22 August 1945, added to the papers of Harry Stoll Mustard (1913–1963) provide further details regarding this United States Navy medical corpsman’s service in the Pacific theater and his parents’ activities in New York City during World War II. Prior to Mustard’s deployment overseas he underwent training at

Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. While there his father wrote him two letters commenting on supplies his son would need for service in the Pacific. On 12 February he wrote to let him know that he was returning the supplies list issued by the Navy and joked that he was “particularly intrigued by the 12 dozen misspelled ‘condroms’ for carrying watch & matches. Fellow must need lots of watches and matches!” Two weeks later on 27 February his father wrote to inform him that he had recently talked “to a chap who had served in the S. Pacific” who had given him “a short list of stuff that (at the time he went out) was not carried on the list.” These items included a “pocket compass, cigarette lighter that will flame in the wind, good sun glasses (important), shower slippers (He says these are a *must*), [and] very short shorts—‘skimpies’ that fit snug in the crotch & serves almost as a jock strap.”

Mustard would eventually be attached to the Twenty-first Marines as a lieutenant and participate in the Allied invasions of Guam and Iwo Jima. After the invasion of Guam he compiled a “Log” of the campaign which covered his activities from 3 June to 21 August 1944. Prior to his landing on Guam, the document is in narrative form, but evidently Mustard was not able to complete his work. Entries after his unit landed on 21 July take on the form of an outline and are often limited to single words. While recording his impressions of his fellow Marines while on board the landing craft as they approached the island on 21 July, he noted that some of the men had “grown tired of standing and sat on the deck. No one seemed too anxious yet everyone appeared pale and determined. It was the sort of expression one sees on a determined, good Baptist on Sunday morning on his way to church after a hard Saturday evening. Silence, etc.” Examples of the shorter entries for the days after the landing include 24 July—“Attack”, 25 July—“Banzai: Aid station, evacuation of Lambert, getting over cliff, all night long, hold tight”, 30 July—“Saké”, and 1 August—“Diarrhea, tanks, B-25s.”

Lieutenant Mustard provided a fuller description of his activities on Guam in a 14 August 1944 letter to his wife in Camden. He noted that most of his “work was done on the front, where things were always pretty warm” and that he had enemy soldiers “within 20 ft. of me & could see them plainly, but thank the Lord I saw them first.” When describing his living conditions he complained that he had been sleeping in fox holes for nearly a month and that in all he had “probably dug about 30 of the damned things, often two a day while advancing.” He continued the letter with descriptions of pests on the island including mosquitoes and flies which were “undoubtedly the fiercest in the world,” ants that “stage parades up & down my carcass” at night, ticks as “large as ones thumbnail” which took “dynamite to make [them] turn loose,” and frogs which “are bigger than our native bull frogs.” These he considered harmless until “one jumps into your fox hole in the middle of the night, & hits you in the chest.” He went on to relate that the first time this happened he thought someone had “tossed a grenade on me & vacated the hole in no time flat.” He also lamented that a “swing of the arm & coarse words” were all the defense he had against rats and mice that “run over me all the time.”

Writing on 15 August 1945, the day of the Japanese surrender, Mustard’s father began his letter “Well, Buck, Old Boy, it’s over!” The remainder of his letter described his celebration the night before—“I hung on a beaut of a bender...Got as high as a kite. Partook of rye, bourbon, scotch, wine and champagne! Wow, what a night!...We drank to you early and often and again and again.” He went on to admit that he could once again look to the future with his son and urged him to write as soon as he could and “tell us how the surrender looks from a fox hole.”

Also included in the collection are newspaper clippings sent to Mustard by his parents describing the Allied invasion of Guam, Mustard’s lieutenant collar and shoulder rank insignia, his khaki garrison cap, and his khaki tie. **Gift of Harry S. Mustard III.**

**Twelve manuscripts**, 1864–1948 and undated, **and four photographs**, 1889 and undated, represent various generations of the interrelated Preston and Darby families connected through the marriage in 1864 of Mary Cantey Preston, daughter of John Smith Preston, and Dr. John Thomson Darby. The couple's son John Preston Darby married Sarah Moore Adams, daughter of Warren Adams, who is represented here by a single letter, 21 August 1864, written by Adams as major commanding the First South Carolina Infantry. Addressed to Lt. Iredell Jones, the letter states Warren Adams' opposition to the transfer of regimental musician [Albert] Kelchberger—"I find it impossible to consent to his being transferred to any other organization. If he goes to the Maryland line it will only be because there is to that effect a special order from the war department, and it may be impossible for me to prevent him. Still I shall use every possible endeavor to prevent him from leaving this Regiment...."

Present also are two letters, 4 October 1873 and 7 June 1874, from John Smith Preston, New York and Baltimore, to his grandson John Preston Darby. The letters express a grandfather's affection and the earlier one mentions the "Revolving advertisements" in New York City. "I see Barnums Circus pass nearly every day. Last time there were Six Elephants—drawing one carriage—and eight Camels drawing another—with the Band in it—and there were about a hundred men and women—in Spangles and gold—on horseback."

Other items include a manuscript poem, "Bells across the Snow," 17 February [18]88, by Sadie Adams; a certificate documenting the marriage of John Preston Darby and Sarah Moore Adams, 16 February 1892, performed by The Rev. John H. Tillinghast; two letters, 24 June 1948 and 5 July 1948, from Susan Dixon, Hackensack, New Jersey, giving details of her kinship with descendants of Wade Hampton I, whose sister Margaret Hampton Bynum was Dixon's great-great-grandmother; and an undated

typewritten biographical sketch of John Thomson Darby written by Capt. Wade H. Manning.

Three cartes-de-visite further document the life of Mary Cantey Preston Darby. One photograph by Quinby & Company in Charleston, ca. 1860, is a full-length portrait of Darby in hoop skirt, coat, and hat with feathers. A photograph by Wearn & Hix of Columbia is a bust-style silhouette showing Darby with her hair down, instead of off her neck as was the style of the day. The third photograph, ca. 1866, was taken by Le Jeune in Paris and also is a silhouette portrait, with a single long curled tress down her neck. Le Jeune bought the Paris studio of Sergei Levitsky, the famous Russian photographer, in 1864 and continued with Levitsky's name on his photograph mounts until 1867. A fourth carte-de-visite is of a young woman and inscribed "To Frank, from Mila, Fair Week, 1889." It is probably one of Darby's daughters, Caroline Hampton Darby or Margaret Cantey Darby. **Gift of Mrs. Stewart Clare and Mr. Warren Darby.**

***Manuscript volume***, 1764, 1768, 1773–1781, documents the management of lowcountry South Carolina plantations by Robert Raper (1710–1779). Raper, an English-born lawyer, merchant, and plantation agent, had established himself in Charleston by 1746 and remained in that city until his death. This volume lists accounts kept by Raper with thirty-eight individuals, the longest of which were with Thomas Boone and Margaret Colleton, both of whose property was confiscated in 1782 under the South Carolina Confiscation Act.

Raper worked as an agent for these two absentee landowners, running their plantations, Watboo and Mepshoo, while they stayed in London. His record of expenditures covers typical plantation needs, including work done on a boat, salt, wages paid to overseers, bricks, nails, lumber, rope, bridles, and millstones. There are also numerous entries detailing expenses related to the plantations' slaves. These include expenditures for "3 Galls. Rum for sick Negroes" (p. 6), "35 pair of Negro Shoes" (p. 6),

“Thread for the Negroes Cloaths” (p. 6), and “Boat hire going to look after your Negroes on Sullivan’s Island in the Public Service there” (p. 25).

In addition to these two, Raper also kept smaller accounts with Sarah Rutledge (presumably the mother of John and Edward Rutledge), Josiah Tattnall (presumably the father of future senator Josiah Tattnall), Samuel Shoemaker (former mayor of Philadelphia), and various boat builders, pilots, and carpenters. **Acquired through the John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund and the Allen Stokes Manuscript Development Fund.**

*Two letters*, 14 December 1788 and 12 August 1795, added to the papers of Jacob Read (1752–1816), shed further light on the activities of this politician and lawyer. The earlier letter was written to Read in Charleston, South Carolina, from Robert Stark (1762–1830) and discusses a variety of legal matters, including Stark seeking a judgment against the county sheriff “for Fees due me as Clerk for the Office by their Neglect or indulgence has brought me in Debt.” Also included in the letter are Stark’s notes on the State vs. Richardson Bartlett and William Dobey, which he includes in the hopes that Read will offer his opinion on the matter.

The second letter was written to Read in New York from Savannah, Georgia, by William Stephens and decries the passage of Jay’s Treaty, which had been signed in November 1794. The treaty, described by Stephens as “unrighteous in all its parts,” was unpopular in the South because it failed to provide reparations for slaves confiscated by the British during the American Revolution. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Franklin McCabe, Mr. W. Jefferson Bryson, Mr. Steve Griffith, Mr. & Mrs. Glen Inabinet, Dr. E.M. Lander, Jr., and Dr. & Mrs. E.B. McFadden, Jr.**

*Manuscript*, [ca. 1892], “Preliminary study of the Act approved 24 Dec. 1892. Known as the Dispensary Act.” The document was prepared by the

Charleston, South Carolina, law firm of Simons, Siegling & Cappelmann and is a detailed analysis of the act.

South Carolina governor Benjamin R. Tillman engineered passage of the 1892 liquor law which gave complete control of liquor sales to the state as of 1 July 1893. The law provoked opposition and deadly riots almost immediately after its passage. Soon after it took effect, Judge Joshua Hilary Hudson declared the act unconstitutional on the ground that the state's power to protect the health and safety of the public did not permit state-created monopolies of a trade or business.

This document, written before the court decision, was probably prepared for a Charleston client involved in the liquor trade. It details the new statute, analyzing its constitutionality. The author of the study recognizes the formidable breadth of a state's inherent police power to enact laws protecting the health and safety of the public and reviews possible argument that might trump the state's inherent powers.

Rudolph Siegling was a Charleston attorney and newspaperman who had served in the Confederate Army in Bachman's Company, South Carolina Artillery [German Light Artillery]. James Simons, Jr., who also served in Bachman's Company, was a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1878–1891, and Speaker of the House, 1882–1890. John D. Cappelmann, a member of the German Artillery, represented Charleston County two terms in the legislature. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Harvey S. Teal and Mr. & Mrs. Dean Woerner.**

**Letter**, 1 May 1868, written from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, by Samuel M. Stafford (ca. 1795–1873) to Francis Wilkinson Pickens renews an old acquaintance and laments the troubles facing the South during Reconstruction. Stafford opens by indicating that it had been thirty years since he had seen Pickens and that most of his friends from "Old Edgefield...have departed to the other world."



The letter continues by noting that “you are surrounded with troubles such as few men ever bore. But your lot is not worse than that of most men in the South. We are in a most deplorable & mournful condition.” Drawing a parallel with revolutionary France, he claims that “some men suffered...during their revolution; but here are more than six millions of human beings reduced to poverty & absolute want.” Regarding local news, he reports that “we have had some trouble of late. Six or seven houses have been violently entered by the Yankees in pursuit of R. Randolph, our Editor, & L. Martin.”

Stafford closes by conveying news of his family in Alabama and Iowa. According to outside sources, Samuel M. Stafford was a professor at the University of Alabama prior to 1856. In that year he resigned and took over the management of the Alabama Female Institute with his wife, Maria, establishing what became known as the Stafford School. **Gift of Mrs. Sarah G. McCrory.**

**Four manuscripts**, 1848–1868, relating to Samuel H. Still, slaveholder and farmer of Barnwell District, South Carolina, include receipts dated 28 February 1848, from Wm. Jas. Smith for full payment for “two negroes named Mary Ann and her child Edmond” and 2 January 1855, for Still’s partial payment to E. Lartique for “Fanny and her two Children Abram & Andrew.” An 18 March 1857 document from Holman & Guimarin, of Randolph County, Georgia, authorizes Still “for us and in our name and for our benefit to communicate our secret for making H.B. Elder & Co’s Excelsior soap to whomsoever he may contract with, for a valuable consideration, to sell Individual or Family rights in [Barnwell] District for a valuable consideration.” **Gift of Mr. Scott Wilds.**

**Two printed manuscripts**, 1 September 1881, circulars issued by the Adjutant and Inspector General’s Department, Columbia, signed in print by A.M. Manigault, Adjutant and Inspector General State of South Carolina.

“General Order No. 14” directs that Col. Hugh S. Thompson and Lt. Col. L. de B. McCrady, First Regiment Rifles, S.V.T., were detailed to serve as colonel and lieutenant colonel of the Centennial Battalion which was to represent the State of South Carolina at Yorktown, Virginia, the following October. The Yorktown Centennial Battalion would consist of one captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants, and twenty-four men augmented by two supernumerary men. Two sets of colors were to be allowed the Battalion, including the historic “Eutaw Flag,” lent by the Washington Light Infantry, of Charleston.

The second “Circular” reports specifics of “the celebration of the Yorktown Centennial in October next,” with details of transportation via railroad and steamboat, accommodations, meals, and limits on personal baggage. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

***Manuscript***, 23 February 1864, Charleston, South Carolina, Confederate States of America statement of value of slaves furnished for “service on the Coast” by Mims Ward, Marlboro [District, S.C.], identifying six enslaved persons, Abram, Isaac, Boston, Lee, Job, and Tom. Signed R.B. Johnson, Ag[en]t of the State, F. Nipson, for Confederate Authorities, and Jno. B. Moore, for owners. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. William W. Burns and Mr. J.H. Kaufmann, Jr.**

***One hundred ninety manuscripts, twenty-three photographs, and four printed volumes***, 1907 and 1940-1979, document the World War II service of Frank Lee Young, Jr. (1923-1945), chiefly through letters written to his parents in Due West, South Carolina, from various army posts throughout the United States describing his pilot training.

As evidenced by a commencement program contained in the collection, Young graduated from Due West High School in 1940. His first letters after he had joined the Army Air Forces were written from Miami, Florida, in March 1943, and the following month he was transferred to Salisbury, North Carolina. He left Salisbury in August 1943 for the Army Air Center in

Nashville, Tennessee, where he would remain until the end of September. While he was in Nashville, he officially received his classification as a pilot—a fact he passed along to his parents on 5 September 1943. On 1 October 1943 Young was transferred to Maxwell Field, outside of Montgomery, Alabama, where he was to remain until 2 December. While in Alabama he penned a letter, postmarked 22 October, which describes testing that he underwent in a “high pressure chamber.” He noted that “some of the boys ear drum burst” and “others got the bends & some passed out.” He concluded his description by bragging that “except for the oxygen mask I felt the same as I do sitting here.”

On 7 December 1943 Young arrived at Harrell Field in Camden, Arkansas, to undergo more pilot training on Fairchild PT-23's—a sketch of which he included in a letter written on 7 December 1943. He remained at Harrell Field until 12 February 1944 when he received a certificate indicating that he had “completed the course of instruction in elementary pilot training.” Young made a brief stop at Walnut Ridge, Arkansas, before being sent to George Field in Lawrenceville, Illinois, where he graduated from “AAF Pilot School (Advanced 2 Engine)” in July 1944 and was commissioned a lieutenant. He spent most of the last half of 1944 at Lockbourne Army Air Base in Columbus, Ohio, before being assigned to the Third Air Force, based in Tampa, Florida, in December 1944. While in Florida he flew training missions on B-17 bombers with a crew of six corporals and informed his parents in a letter of 7 January 1945 that this crew would go overseas together when they finished training in March. Young quipped that having one's own crew brought “more worry than Carter has pills.” His last extant letter was postmarked 19 January 1945 and describes the stress and workload he was laboring under. He complained that they were “working three times as hard as I like to work” and that every other day “when we fly...we get up at 3, eat, shave, and dress, then go to the line.” The previous Sunday he noted “was a 16 hour

working day.”

A memorial card found among the collection states that “Lieut. Frank Lee Young, Jr., pilot of a B-17 had been killed in a plane crash near the Avon Park, Fla., Air Base. He and his crew had been out on a night flight and when returning to his base the plane crashed, killing all of the crew. Lieut. Young had just passed his 22nd birthday, January 22, and was expecting to be sent overseas in a short while.” Also included is the program for a memorial service held on 27 May 1945 to honor fifty-three men from Abbeville County, South Carolina, who were killed or missing in action.

A small group of letters from Young’s uncle, Dwight D. Ellis (b. ca. 1912), is also present, including four written from North Africa between November 1942 and January 1943 while Ellis was serving as part of the Fifty-eighth Armored Field Artillery.

Included within the collection are twenty-three family photographs, 1907, 1945, and undated. **Gift of Mr. Millen Ellis and Ms. Armena Ellis.**

***Printed manuscript***, [1894], issued by the York County Cotton Growers’ Association and titled “John T. Roddey’s home people endorse his plans for the control of the price of cotton,” reprints articles from the *Yorkville Enquirer* encouraging cotton growers to organize in an effort to affect market prices.

At the organizational meeting, the circular reports, Dr. J.F. Lindsay, of Yorkville, was elected president, W.J. Miller, of Newport, was elected vice-president, and W.D. Grist, of Yorkville, was elected secretary. John T. Roddey, of New York, addressed the group and explained his plans for the organization of a cotton trust.

The preamble and resolution adopted at the organizational meeting read in part:

“Whereas, we believe that the price of cotton has been reduced below the cost of production through the machinations of unscrupulous

speculators who have succeeded in suspending the laws of legitimate supply and demand, in so far as they apply to our main money crop; and

“Whereas, we are firmly of opinion that our condition is steadily growing more and more desperate instead of showing signs of improvement...and

“Whereas, we consider the most plausible and practical step to this end is a thorough organization of the cotton producers of the South by States and counties; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That we...do hereby request...Governor Evans, to call a convention of the cotton growers of South Carolina, to be composed of two delegates from each county, to meet in Columbia during the month of January...for the purpose of taking steps looking to the perfection of an organization of the cotton growers of our State, and pushing the organization into other States, on the general basis of the plan known as the ‘Roddey plan,’ or some other plan calculated to accomplish the same purpose.” **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

SELECTED LIST OF PRINTED SOUTH CAROLINIANA

*Ordinances of the Town of Anderson* (Anderson, 1846?). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. William J. McLeod.**

*The Assembly Reporter: The Southern Presbyterian—Extra*, no. 4, 9 December 1861 (Augusta, Ga., 1861). **Acquired with dues contribution of The Hon. C. Tolbert Goolsby, Jr.**

*Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors* (Baltimore, 1864). **Gift of Mrs. Mary Simms Furman.**

M. Beaufort, *Le Grand Porte-feuille Politique: a L'usage des Princes et des Ministres, des Ambassadeurs et des Hommes de Lois, des Officiers Généraux de Terre et de Mer, Ainsi que de la Noblesse, du Haut Clergé, des Financiers, des Voyageurs, Amateurs de Sciences Politiques, et Enfin, de Tours Ceux qui Suivent le Carrière Politique, ou qui S'y Destinent...* (Paris, 1789) **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Weston Adams, Mr. & Mrs. Joel T. Cassidy, Mrs. Gayle B. Edwards, Dr. Donald Kay, Dr. & Mrs. Francis Neuffer, Mr. & Mrs. William L. Pope, Col. & Mrs. Lanning Risher, and Dr. Allen H. Stokes.**

Matthew Carey, *Signs of the Times: South Carolina Toasts* (Philadelphia, 1832?). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Sidney K. Suggs and Commander & Mrs. William M. Matthew.**

*Charleston Mercury*, 30 January–31 December 1861; 1 January 1863–11 February 1865; 19 November 1866–14 November 1868; Tri-Weekly Mercury, 29 January–18 April 1861; 14 September 1861. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Guy Davenport, *The Resurrection in Cookham Churchyard* (New York, 1982). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. J.H. Mathias, Jr.**

Julia V. Davidson, *Selma Polka Duet* (New York, 1855). **Gift of Mrs. Anne Simms Pincus.**

Benny Davis (lyrics); Abner Silver (music), *Carry Me Back to My*

*Carolina Home* (New York, 1922). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Theodore Hutchison and Mrs. James McAden.**

Walter Donaldson (music); Gus Kahn (lyrics), *Carolina in the Morning* (New York, 1922). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Andrew Sorensen.**

Theophilus Fiske, *Extracts from an Oration Delivered Several Years Ago at Charleston, S.C., on the Anniversary of the Battle of Fort Moultrie* (New York, 1860). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Rodger E. Stroup and Mr. E. Lloyd Willcox II.**

Furman University, *The Bonhomie* (Greenville, 1903). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Joe H. Camp, Jr.**

Christopher Philip Gadsden, *Duty to God Not to be Overlooked in Duty to the State: A Sermon Preached at St. Luke's Church, Charleston, S.C., on the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 11, 1860* (Charleston, 1860). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Helen Pride Carson.**

Greenville Female College, *The Blue and the Gold* (Greenville, 1902). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Joe H. Camp, Jr.**

Walter Hirsch (lyrics); Erwin R. Schmidt (music), *Carolina Sunshine* (New York, 1919). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Heyward Fouche and Dr. Cary J. Mock.**

John Edwards Holbrook, *Southern Ichthyology: or, a Description of the Fishes Inhabiting the Waters of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida*, Part II, pages 5–36; Part III, pages 37–60 (New York, 1847–1848). Parts II and III were the only parts published. This is only the second copy known to contain all eight engravings. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment, the Louise Irwin Woods Fund, and the Southern Heritage Endowment.**

Jasper Johns, *Periscope, 1978–1981* (New York, 1981). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Lucien Bruno.**

Benjamin Markley Lee, *Mt. Pleasant: Historic, Beautiful, Unusual* (Mt.

Pleasant, 1935). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Gaston Gage.**

Robert Mills, *Guide to the National Executive Offices and the Capitol of the United States* (Washington, 1841). **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Felicia Furman and Dr. Ann Russell.**

Charles B. Murrell, *Brief History of Company "B" Tenth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers Confederate States Army* [with additions and editing] by J.R. Tolar (n.p., 19-?). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Endowment.**

*Proceedings of the Elliott Society of Natural History of Charleston, South Carolina*, vol. 1, November 1853–December 1858. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Donald L. Fowler and Dr. Joanne C. Suggs.**

*Proceedings of the First and Second Annual Meetings of the Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina, and Oration of General John S. Preston, Delivered before the Association, November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1870* (Charleston, 1870). **Acquired with dues contribution of Ms. Joanne F. Duncan.**

Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of South Carolina, *Diocesan Records of the Year A.D. 1865* (Charleston, 1866). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Jack Bass, Mrs. Mary Maclean, and Ms. Catherine Sease.**

Edwin Henderson Randle, *Characteristics of the Southern Negro* (New York, 1910). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Edna G. Watson.**

Morris J. Raphall, [*Extracts from the Mishneh Torah by Maimonides and from the Sepher ha-Ikkarim by Joseph Albo*] (Charleston, 1850). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. George E. Chapin, Mr. Thomas C. Deas, Jr., The Hon. & Mrs. Paul S. Goldsmith, Dr. Marianne Holland, Dr. & Mrs. George B. Richardson, Mrs. Anne Sheriff, and Mr. Sidney K. Suggs.**



Herbert Ravenel Sass, *Look Back to Glory*, Charleston edition, no. 189 of 500 copies (Indianapolis, 1933). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Julian J. Nexsen.**

William Gilmore Simms (lyrics); M.S. Reeves (music), *The Texian Hunter's Bride* (Philadelphia, 1841). **Gift of Mrs. Anne Simms Pincus.**

*A Sketch of the History and the Rules of the Charleston Ancient Artillery Society: Incorporated 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1808...Perpetual Charter, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1901* (Charleston, 1901). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Charles H. Witten.**

South Carolina, General Assembly, Senate, Special Committee on Slavery and the Slave Trade, *Report of Special Committee on so Much of Gov. Adams' Message as Relates to the Slave Trade* (Columbia, 185-?). **Acquired with dues contributions of The Rev. D. Wallace Adams-Riley, Mrs. Joseph Bouknight, Mr. & Mrs. Creighton Coleman, Mrs. E. Arthur Dreskin, Ms. Betsy Estilow, and The Hon. & Mrs. James A. Lander.**

*Southern Cultivator*, 9 issues, January 1861–July 1865. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Franklin Beattie and Mr. Nicholas G. Meriwether.**

Henry S. Taft, *Reminiscences of the Signal Service in the Civil War*, Personal Narratives, Sixth Series, no. 3 (Providence, R.I., 1903). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Harry Shealy and Miss Wylma Wates.**

United States Coast Survey, *Sketch E Showing the Progress of the Survey of Section V from 1847 to 1855* (Washington, 1855). **Acquired with dues contribution of Miss Hannah R. Timmons.**

Harry Von Tilzer (music); Andrew B. Stirling (lyrics), *Where the Sweet Magnolias Bloom* (Chicago, 1899). **Acquired with dues contribution of Capt. John C. Foster.**

Harry Warren (music); Sam Lewis and Joe Young (lyrics), *Cryin' for the*

*Carolines* (New York, 1930). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Theodore W. Hutchison and Mrs. James McAden.**

PICTORIAL SOUTH CAROLINIANA

**Carte-de-visite**, ca. 1860, of Martin Witherspoon Gary (1831–1881). Gary was born in Cokesbury, South Carolina, graduated from Harvard in 1855, and practiced law at Edgefield, South Carolina. He served in Hampton's Legion during the Civil War, ending his service as a brigadier general escorting Confederate president Jefferson Davis to South Carolina. Gary worked to elect Wade Hampton as governor in 1876, using the Shotgun Policy which saw the rise of the Red Shirts. Because of the violence of the policy, Hampton and other Democrats disassociated themselves from Gary, blocking his appointment as a United States senator and a run for the governorship in 1880. **Acquired with dues contribution of Ms. Julie Petoskey Smoak.**

**Stereograph**, 1870s, of the steamer *Dictator* at dock; no. 9449 in "Views in Charleston S.C." series, by E. & H.T. Anthony, New York. Capt. Leo Vogel, former Confederate naval officer, commanded the *Dictator* for the Charleston and Florida Steamboat Company after the war. The steamer carried passengers and agricultural products between Charleston and Florida ports, with stops at Savannah as well. **Acquired with dues contribution of Father Peter Clarke.**

**Stereograph**, 1870s, of The Oaks plantation, by Jesse A. Bolles, of Charleston, and part of his "Charleston, S.C. and Vicinity" series. It is taken looking down the allée toward the house, with two African-American men resting on the side of the drive. The Oaks is located in Berkeley County, near Goose Creek. The avenue of oak trees was planted by Edward Middleton in the 1700s. **Acquired with dues contribution of Father Peter Clarke.**

**Stereograph**, 1881, "Cotton Press," no. 178 in "Characteristic Southern Scenes," by J.A. Palmer, Aiken. The photograph shows three African-American men by cotton being pressed and by bales marked "From Powell Bro's, Aiken, S.C." One of the men is covered with cotton lint

and holding a bale hook. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Watson L. Dorn, Dr. & Mrs. Karl Heider, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, and Mrs. Alice H. Sanders.**

***Stereograph***, undated, no. 4 in "Magnolia, Residence of Rev. J.G. Drayton, on the Ashley River, 12 Miles from Charleston, S.C.," published by G.N. Barnard, Charleston. This view shows the path among live oaks along the river. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Keller H. Barron and Mr. Andy Thornal.**

***Photograph***, 1860s, of William Gilmore Simms. Mounted on a thin sheet of paper, the photograph was part of a proof book from the studio of Mathew Brady. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Paul R. Bellman and Mrs. Julia K. Ivey.**

***Five photographs***, 1860s, of Bishop Patrick Neeson Lynch (1817–1882), from a Mathew Brady studio proof book. Lynch was the third bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Charleston, from 1857 until his death. He was appointed by Confederate president Jefferson Davis in 1864 as the Confederate States of America's delegate to the Holy See, but he did not gain Vatican recognition for the Confederacy. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Brantley M. Adams and Mr. Ken Daniell.**

***Photograph***, 1901, of women and children working in a peach cutting shed near Inman, South Carolina. The shed is open on all sides and a small-gauge rail line runs through the center where laden flats were loaded onto a flat trolley. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

***Sixty-three photographs***, ca. 1902–1906, of Columbia and Charleston areas, taken by Underwood and Underwood of New York. Views include African Americans in rice field and on raft, Olympia Cotton Mill in Columbia, rooftop and street views of Charleston, Fort Sumter, main building of South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition, gates of Goose Creek plantation, sugar cane and turnip fields, and beaches. With nine photographs on each side of large sheets, these pages once were

part of the master files of the company. Many photographs have numbers, and a few have caption information. Underwood & Underwood was the largest producer of stereographs at one time. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. William Cain, Jr., Mr. & Mrs. Wilburn W. Campbell, Ms. Pat Carroll, Dr. & Mrs. J.M. Lesesne, Jr., Mr. Ivan Jay McLeod, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph D. Lojewski, and Dr. Cary J. Mock.**

**Photograph**, 1909, of two male students in their dormitory room, 13 East DeSaussure, at the University of South Carolina. One student is reading a book in a rocking chair in front of the fireplace; the other student is working at a desk. There is a bed, second desk, wash stand, and chamber pot. Several small pictures are tacked on the wall above the fireplace. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

**Photograph**, ca. 1919, of unidentified African-American man sitting in a chair and wearing a hat. The postcard format photograph was taken by J.W. Johnston, who operated a photography gallery on Washington Street, Columbia, from 1918 until 1921. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

**Two photographs**, undated, of Wheeler Scott and of Lula Scott and son Jess Paul of the Due West area. The crayon portraits capture an African-American family in the early twentieth century. **Gift of Mr. Millen Ellis and Ms. Armena Ellis.**

**Album**, 1905–1907, of the Isaac Edward Emerson family, showing them boating on the Waccamaw River, renovating Prospect Hill plantation house, and hunting and picnicking on Arcadia plantation. Emerson, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, patented Bromo-Seltzer and owned several companies. The family had homes in New York state, where yachting and water activities were enjoyed and also captured in the album. Emerson bought seven plantations in Georgetown County and combined them to create Arcadia. **Acquired through the Louise Irwin Woods Fund.**

**Album**, 1921–1923 and undated, showing men stringing telegraph line

along railroad tracks in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Florida. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

**Album**, 1941, of the 96<sup>th</sup> Air Base Squadron stationed at Columbia Army Air Base. Over 180 photographs show enlisted men at work and at leisure inside barracks, on base, and around town. Social events include a Red Cross social, singers at G.I. Hop, and U.S.O. dances with Lee Bowman's Band and Army bands. Many photographs are identified with captions, and some are official Air Corps photographs printed at Columbia Air Base photo lab showing base operations, planes, and hangars. The squadron included P.T.C. Robert C. Page, of Clinton, South Carolina.

The United States Army Air Corps took over control of the Lexington County Airport in 1941, creating the Columbia Army Air Base. The 96<sup>th</sup> Air Base Squadron was initially assigned as base host unit but was replaced in February 1942 by the 19<sup>th</sup> Air Base Group. Several observation and bombardment groups trained here, including the famous Doolittle Raiders. The base was deactivated in late 1945 and was returned to civil authorities for use as an airport. It is now Columbia Metropolitan Airport. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. William R. Delk, Mr. William W. Miller, Mr. David E. Sease, Mrs. Barbara Stoops, and Mrs. T. Eston Marchant.**

**Five postcards**, 1908–1913 and undated, of Charleston, Isle of Palms, and Georgetown. "One Days Hunt, Georgetown" shows a large mound of ducks on a wagon. The Isle of Palms views show the depot and pavillion. The Charleston cards show Meeting Street with the Charleston Hotel and Elizabeth O'Neill Verner's etching "Charleston Water Front." **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Beverly Hemphill.**

**Drawing**, 1892, of Lt. Gen. Stephen D. Lee. Drawn from a photograph with india ink by Jacques Reich, the image is of Lee as an older man. Lee resigned his United States Army commission in 1861 to join the Confederate forces. As aide-de-camp to General Beauregard, Lee

delivered the ultimatum to evacuate Fort Sumter to Major Anderson. Lee rejoined the South Carolina militia, serving in the Army of Tennessee and being the youngest officer to be commissioned a lieutenant general in 1864. He settled in Mississippi after the war and served as a state legislator and as president of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Jacques Reich (1852–1923) emigrated from Hungary in 1873, lived in New York state, and gained national fame as a portrait etcher. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Theodore W. Gage and Mr. Wade H. Sherard III.**

**Four woodcuts**, 1860 and undated, of Civil War events in South Carolina. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* from 24 November 1860 shows a meeting to endorse the call for a secession convention. An unidentified newspaper shows Fort Sumter and Castle Pinckney in 1861. *Soldier in Our Civil War* shows the bombardment of Fort Sumter as sketched from Morris Island. Portraits of Federal commanders Dahlgren and Gilmore accompany views of the "New Ironsides," wreck of the "Ruby," and fortifications around Charleston. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Susanne Collins Matson and Dr. & Mrs. Frank J. Wyman.**

**Halftone**, 1903, "Cloudburst and a fearful flood in South Carolina: river rises sixty feet at Clifton and Pacolet, destroying property worth \$3,500,000, and drowning eighty people." Six views of the destruction, published by *Leslie's Weekly* on 25 June, show Clifton Mill No. 1 and No. 2 caved in, fly-wheel of Clifton Mill No. 3 broken, mill houses swept away, and building damage at Pacolet Mill No. 3 and No. 7. The freshet on the Pacolet River killed the highest number of people by floodwaters in recorded South Carolina climatology history. **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Frances Sideman.**

Other gifts of South Caroliniana were made to the Library by the following members: Dr. & Mrs. Robert K. Ackerman, Dr. W. Eugene

Atkinson II, Mr. Gayle O. Averyt, Dr. George F. Bass, Dr. Ronald E. Bridwell, Dr. Rose Marie Cooper, Mrs. Laura S. Crosby, Mrs. Gayle B. Darby, Mrs. Sarah Eggleston, Dr. Drew Gilpin Faust, Dr. John L. Frierson, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Mr. Keith Gourdin, Dr. Gilbert S. Guinn, Dr. & Mrs. Flynn T. Harrell, Mrs. Georgia H. Hart, Mr. Brent H. Holcomb, Mr. Wilmot B. Irvin, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, Dr. James E. Kibler, Jr., Mrs. Sarah G. McCrory, Mrs. Maria B. Macaulay, Mr. Nicholas G. Meriwether, Mrs. Virginia G. Meynard, Dr. John Hammond Moore, Dr. Constance A. Myers, Miss Louise Pettus, Mr. D. Lindsay Pettus, Mrs. Anne Simms Pincus, Ms. Lynn Robertson, Mr. Hillyer Rudisill III, Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Mr. John Govan Simms, Mr. Geddeeth Smith, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., Dr. Rodger Stroup, Dr. & Mrs. Edmund R. Taylor, Mr. Harvey S. Teal, Ms. Nancy H. Washington, and Mrs. Rose-Marie Williams.

Life Memberships and other contributions to the Society's Endowment Fund were received from Mrs. Sloan H. Brittain, Dr. & Mrs. William W. Burns, Father Peter Clarke, Dr. & Mrs. W.M. Davis, Mr. Thomas C. Deas, Jr., Mr. Millen Ellis, Jr., Dr. Caroline LeConte Gibbes, Mrs. Sarah Gibbes, Mr. Steve Griffith, Com. & Mrs. William M. Matthew, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Ms. Catherine Sease, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Mr. Sidney K. Suggs, and Mr. Marvin R. Watson.



ENDOWMENTS AND FUNDS TO BENEFIT

THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY

**The Robert and May Ackerman Library Fund** provides for the acquisition of materials to benefit the South Caroliniana Library, including manuscripts, printed materials, and visual images.

**The Elizabeth Boatwright Coker Graduate Assistantship** honors the noted author who established this assistantship to encourage and enable graduate history students to advance their professional research skills.

**The Edwin Haselden Cooper Director's Fund** provides support to be expended at the Library Director's discretion.

**The Orin F. Crow Acquisition and Preservation Endowment** honors the memory of Dr. Crow, a former University of South Carolina student, professor, Dean of the School of Education, and Dean of the Faculty. This endowment was established in 1998 by Mary and Dick Anderson, Dr. Crow's daughter and son-in-law.

**The Jane Crayton Davis Endowment** has been created to help fund the preservation of the irreplaceable materials at the South Caroliniana Library. As a former president of the University South Caroliniana Society, Mrs. Davis is keenly aware of the need for a central repository for historical materials and of the ongoing obligation of the Library to maintain the integrity of its collections.

**The William A. Foran Memorial Fund** honors this revered University of South Carolina history professor and funds the acquisition of significant materials relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction, areas of particular interest to Professor Foran.

**The Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment** was established in honor of Mr. Holman on 19 August 1996, his eightieth birthday, by his son, Elliott Holman III, to strengthen and preserve holdings in areas of Mr. Holman's interests, such as the Episcopal church, music and the arts, Anderson County, and other

aspects of South Carolina history.

**The Arthur E. Holman, Jr., Conservation Laboratory Endowment Fund** provides support for the ongoing operation of the conservation laboratory, for funding graduate assistantships and other student workers, and for equipment and supplies and other related needs.

**The John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund** was established by his daughter Gladys Hungerpillar Ingram and supports research on and preservation of the Hungerpillar papers and acquisition of materials for the South Caroliniana Library.

**The Katharine Otis and Bruce Oswald Hunt Biography Collection Library Endowment** provides for the purchase of biographical materials benefitting the South Caroliniana and Thomas Cooper Libraries' special, reference, and general collections and the Film Library.

**The Lewis P. Jones Research Fellowship in South Carolina History** honors Dr. Jones, esteemed professor emeritus at Wofford College, by funding a summer fellowship for a scholar conducting serious inquiry into the state's history.

**The Lumpkin Foyer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library** provides support for enhancements and maintenance of the Lumpkin Foyer as well as unrestricted support for the Library.

**The Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellowship Endowment** was established in 2001 and will provide support for a research fellowship at the South Caroliniana Library to encourage the study of post-Civil War politics, government and society, with an emphasis on South Carolina history. This endowment was established by the family of Governor and Mrs. McLeod in recognition of their contributions to the Palmetto State.

**The William Davis Melton Graduate Assistantship Endowment** benefits University Archives by providing graduate students with invaluable experience while promoting the care, use, and development of

the University's historical collections, with particular focus on oral histories. The endowment was established by Caroline Bristow Marchant, Walter James Bristow, Jr., and William Melton Bristow in memory of their grandfather, president of the University of South Carolina from 1922 to 1926. An additional gift of property from General and Mrs. T. Eston Marchant fully funded the endowment.

**The Robert L. and Margaret B. Meriwether South Caroliniana Library Fund** will support the South Caroliniana Library in memory of Library founder, Robert L. Meriwether, and his wife and colleague, Margaret B. Meriwether, who also worked on behalf of the Library. The fund was created to receive gifts in memory of their son, Dr. James B. Meriwether, who died 18 March 2007.

**The John Hammond Moore Library Acquisitions and Conservation Fund** established in honor of Dr. Moore provides support for acquisition of new materials and conservation of existing holdings at the South Caroliniana Library.

**The Robert I. and Swannanoa Kenney Phillips Libraries Endowment** was established in 1998 by their son, Dr. Robert K. Phillips, to honor his parents and his family's commitment to generations of support of the University of South Carolina. It provides for acquisitions and preservation of materials in the South Caroliniana Library and the Thomas Cooper Library. Priority is given to literature representing the various majority and minority cultures of Britain and America to support undergraduate studies.

**The Nancy Pope Rice and Nancy Rice Davis Library Treasure Endowment** has been established to strengthen the ability of the Dean of Libraries to make special and significant acquisitions in a timely fashion for the University of South Carolina libraries. These funds allow the Dean to purchase books and manuscripts to enhance the special collections held by South Caroliniana Library and Thomas Cooper Library.

**The John Govan Simms Memorial Endowment to Support the**

**William Gilmore Simms Collections at the South Caroliniana Library** provides support for the Library to maintain its preeminent position as the leading and most extensive repository of original source materials for the research, analysis, and study of William Gilmore Simms and his position as the leading man of letters in the antebellum South.

**The William Gilmore Simms Visiting Research Professorship Endowment**, established by Simms' granddaughter Mary C. Simms Oliphant and continued by his great-granddaughter Mrs. Alester G. Furman III and other family members, recognizes and honors the noted nineteenth-century American literary giant.

**The Ellison Durant Smith Research Awards** are endowed through a gift from the estate of Harold McCallum McLeod, a native of Timmonsville, Wofford College graduate, and veteran of World War II. This fund was established in 2000 to support research at the South Caroliniana Library on government, politics, and society since 1900 and to pay tribute to "Cotton Ed" Smith (1864–1944), a dedicated United States Senator from 1909 to 1944.

**The South Caroliniana Library Oral History Endowment Fund** supports the activities and programs of the Oral History Program, including equipment, supplies, staff, student training, and publications as administered by the South Caroliniana Library.

**The South Caroliniana Library Portrait Conservation Endowment** provides support for ongoing and future conservation needs of the Library's priceless portrait collection. Proceeds from these funds will be expended first to address the greatest needs of the collection and for ongoing and future needs.

**The South Caroliniana Library Portrait Conservation Project Fund** provides for the immediate needs, maintenance, and conservation of the Library's portrait collection.

**The Southern Heritage Endowment Fund** supports and encourages

innovative work at the South Caroliniana Library and at McKissick Museum.

**The Allen Stokes Manuscript Development Fund** established in honor of Dr. Stokes provides for the acquisition of new materials and preservation of library materials housed in the Manuscripts Division at the South Caroliniana Library.

**The Louise Irwin Woods Fund** provides for internships, fellowships, graduate assistantships, stipends, program support, preservation and/or acquisitions at the South Caroliniana Library.

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA GUARDIAN SOCIETY

WHOSE BEQUESTS WILL BENEFIT

THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY

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Anonymous for the South Caroliniana Library

Members of the Carolina Guardian Society share a commitment to the future of the University of South Carolina, demonstrating their dedication and support by including the University in their estate plans. Through their gifts and commitment, they provide an opportunity for a future even greater than Carolina's founders envisioned two hundred years ago. Membership is offered to all who have made a planned or deferred gift commitment to the University.

## NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Aycock, Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. ....	Elgin	Laughlin, Dr. James E. ....	Fripp Island
Aycock, Mrs. Joseph .....	Elgin	Lieb, Mr. & Mrs. Warren H. ....	Mt. Pleasant
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Brown, Ms. Lainie .....	Ipswich, MA	John Franklin .....	Columbia
Brown, Mr. & Mrs. Richard Lane, III .....	Cheraw	Mack-Shelton, .....	
Candal, Ms. Patricia Tanner .....	Georgetown	Dr. Kibibi V. ....	Owings Mills, MD
Carpenter, Maj. Gen. ....		MacRae, Mr. Duncan .....	Lexington
H. Jerry .....	Rancho Palos Verdes, CA	Mallard, Mr. Henry .....	Raleigh, NC
Chaplin, Mr. Alec H. ....	Columbia	Mallard, Mr. Quentin D. ....	Durham, NC
Chibbaro, Dr. Anthony .....	Prosperity	Mathisen, Dr. Ralph .....	Columbia
Coffin, Ms. Stephanie .....	Atlanta, GA	Mould, Mrs. Lucille P. ....	Columbia
Coleman, Mr. Robert C. ....	Columbia	Potter, Dr. Ellen F. ....	Columbia
Couturier, Mrs. Eliza Spiers .....	Cross	Reid, Ms. Anne Davis .....	Blacksburg, VA
Doerpinghaus, Dr. Helen I. ....	Columbia	Reinert, Mr. & Mrs. Rich. ....	Berthoud, CO
Ferrell, Mr. John R. ....	Penney Farms, FL	Rhodes, Dr. Rita Marie .....	Columbia
Fewell, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel B., III .....	Columbia	Rollinson, Dr. Philip .....	New York
Garner, Ms. Randi P. ....	Lexington	Rosenblum, Mr. Irwin .....	New York, NY
Gasque, Drs. Thomas and Alice .....	Columbia	Savory, Ms. Ardis M. ....	Columbia
Gaston, Mrs. Mary .....		Shoemyen, Mrs. Clare .....	
Wilkinson .....	Charlottesville, VA	Wilkinson .....	Alachua, FL
Geckle, Dr. George L. ....	Columbia	Shorey, Mr. & Mrs. Gregory D. ....	Greenville
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Hay, Mrs. Alix D. ....	Columbia	Spence, Mr. & Mrs. Caldwell .....	Leesville
Hazelrigg, Ms. Dianne C. ....	Lexington	Spence, Mr. Floyd Dr., Jr. ....	Lexington
Helps, Mr. & Mrs. David R., Sr. ....	Columbia	Spence, Mr. & Mrs. ....	
Herzstein, Dr. Robert E. ....	Columbia	Zachariah W. ....	Lexington
Jakubs, Dr. John F. ....	Columbia	Sproat, Mrs. Ruth .....	Lake Bluff, IL
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Kannaday, Dr. Wayne C. ....	Columbia	Tarr, Prof. Rodger L. ....	Okatie
Kasper, Mrs. Rosa .....	Wharton, NJ	Teas, Dr. J. Jane .....	Columbia
Kelly, Dr. Ann J. ....	Spartanburg	Walton, Mr. & Mrs. John .....	Tega Cay
Koblenzer, Dr. & Mrs. ....		White, Mr. Guy H., III .....	Columbia
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The Society: Dr. Robert Ackerman (2011), *President*; Mr. Sam Howell (2011), *Vice-President*; Mr. Kenneth L. Childs (2012), *Vice-President*; Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., *Secretary and Treasurer*; the *Executive Council*—The foregoing officers and Dr. W. Eugene Atkinson II (2014), Dr. Thomas J. Brown (2011), Dr. William W. Burns (2011), Mr. William Cain, Jr. (2013), Mr. Tom Moore Craig, Jr. (2013), Ms. Beth Crawford (2014), Mrs. Jane C. Davis (2011), Dr. Harry E. Shealy, Jr. (2012), Ms. Robin Waites (2014), and Mr. Paul Willis

(2012).

The Library: Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., *Director*; Elizabeth P. Bilderback, Brian J. Cuthrell, Graham E. Duncan, Henry G. Fulmer, John R. Heiting, Craig M. Keeney, Lorrey R. McClure, Harold L. Newfield, Ann B. Troyer, Donald A. Turner, and Elizabeth C. West, *Administrative Staff*; Ronald E. Bridwell, Joseph Chitty, Meggan Farish, Hampton Fuller, Terry W. Lipscomb, Joyce Mason, Tabitha Samuel, Rose S. Thomas, Katherine Thompson, and Stephen Washburn, *Student Assistants and Temporary Staff*.

MR. THOMAS F. McNALLY

Dean of Libraries